FBIS DAILY REPORT
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Vol II No 078 23 April 1981

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ZERI I POPULLIT: YUGOSLAVIA INCITING 'HOSTILITY'

AU230841 Tirana ATA in English 0700 GMT 23 Apr 81

["Who Instigates Enmity Among the Peoples of Yugoslavia?--Editorial of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 23 Apr (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" publishes an editorial which reads:

The tragic events in Kosovo continue to cover the pages of the international press. The information on the situation in Kosovo, which still continues to be in a complete military and police encirclement, is few, but the commentaries are numerous. Newspapers and authors of the most diversified political tendencies put a question to and require an explanation from the Yugoslav leadership: What are those economic, political and social reasons which lie on the basis of the events in Kosovo?

In an interview with the foreign and Yugoslav journalists in Belgrade with regard to the events in Kosovo, the member of the Presidency of the C.C. of the L.C.Y., Stance Dolanc, with nationality from Slovenia, where the standard of living is the highest in Yugoslavia, said nothing about the grave economic situation in Kosovo. He not only should have mentioned this, but he should also have explained to the international press why Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia have such a high standard of living, whereas Kosovo has such a low level, why the gap between them continues to deepen, though the soil and subsoil of Kosovo are richer than in any other republic of Yugoslavia.

Does not Dolanc know that economy, generally the economic of the states and the peoples? Why was not there made any endeavour to speak about the capital economic problems which preoccupy Kosovo and which define its general situation?

It is easy to ignore them and to explain the revolts and demands of the people of Kosovo with inventions that the "Albanians showed themselves counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists, irredentists." But neither have the inventions been, nor can they be arguments. The situation is neither explained nor improved by the replacement of the realistic and objective analysis of the situation in Kosovo with the uncontrolled use of offending and discriminating epithets for a whole people. The situation remains in the state it is, the problems remain the same and give rise to such phenomena, which, Dolanc and the other Yugoslav leaders either do not want to see, or fear to confront.

The Yugoslav leaders, from the highest to the lowest, claim that "equality in political and economic rights" exists for all the nations and nationalities, that "unity-fraternity" exist in their country. But how can you trust them when a republic or a region is treated like the "son of mother" and another like the son of step-mother, when one "brother" is fed with a golden spoon, whereas the other with a small wooden spoon? This shows neither "unity", nor "fraternity".

Is it perhaps that the blame for this situation, for this reality falls on the editorial of "ZERI I POPULLIT", which expressed its opinion, as all the world press did, about the events in Kosovo and which condemned the Yugoslav leadership for barbarous reppression exercised against the Albanians?

The Yugoslav press accuses us of ignoring the positive changes made in Kosovo. But it is not like this. We defend and assert what is right, and we denounce and condemn what is unjust.

We have affirmed and affirm that Albanian education and culture in Kosovo (and less so in Macedonia and Monte-negro) have made a praise-worthy step forward during the last decade. The opening of the Albanian schools, of the important university of Pristina, the use of the Albanian literary language, the development of Albanian songs, dances and folklore, of elaborated music, Albanian literature, Albanological sciences, etc.

Side by side the culture of other peoples of Yugoslavia have assumed an impetus which they had not seen before. The reasons are known and we do not want to go at length here. Hence, we see and we draw the comparison between the past and the present, we sense the positive changes made in these fields.

But we cannot assert such a thing about the economic development of Kosovo and other soils where the Albanians live, which has advanced very slowly as compared with the rest of Yugoslavia. The differences in the development of economy and the standard of living between them are colossal. These differences fail to be explained, as the Yugoslav leaders do, with the reason of "world crisis". The differences in the standard of living among the republics and regions must be sought in other great, political, ideological and economic reasons.

The great number of economic emigrants, too, speaks of the low development of economy in Kosovo. In Turkey alone, there have been forced to emigrate about 250,000 people from the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, in addition to some scores of thousands of people that have gone to other countries of Europe, America, Australia, etc. You find everywhere Albanian emigrants from "socialist self-administrative" Yugoslavia, but no economic emigrant from "Stalinist, etatist-bureaucratic" Albania. The youth of Kosovo does not find work places, it suffers for bread in Yugoslavia of Tito and after Tito. The reason must be found to these problems, the diagnosis must be made of them so that the illness be cured as quickly as possible and in the most correct way.

Socialist Albania and the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT", more than any other, have the right to have their say about the situation in Kosovo, about the murders and savage tortures the UDB [expansion unknown] and Serbian Army made against the Albanians of Kosovo. And this is not the first time that such things occur in Kosovo. History is not forgotten, it is written, scripta manent.

The shouts and the conceal of the truth by the "top" personalities of the federation and republics, the hysteria of the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and other press, which amount to monstrous charges, according to which "Socialist Albania has a finger in the demonstrations of Kosovo", that "Socialist Albania joined the Croatian-Slovenian-Albanian reaction in emigration", that "Albania unites with those states which want the destruction of Yugoslav federation", etc, etc, are slanders of the glutters. The more and the louder these shouts, the better the world realizes that hopeless efforts are made to conceal the truth, verba volant. Nothing will remain from this clamour, because nothing is true.

In the above mentioned interview Dolanc said that 11 people were killed in the demonstrations of Kosovo. An Albanian servant of his from the leadership of Kosovo said nine. As it seems, they had not time to come to terms with one another. Despite this, all of them deceived the world and the Yugoslav public opinion. The foreign press speaks of hundreds of murdered, hundreds of disappeared, injured and arrested in Kosovo. But it is the people of Kosovo themselves who know them better, because it were they who shed their blood. They are also aware why this blood was shed and who did this calamity.

The limitation in minimum on the part of the Yugoslav leadership of the number of murdered, injured and arrested is not "the result of disorderly data", but the consequence of the attempts to hide in the eyes of the world public opinion the terror that has been unleashed in Kosovo and to preserve the mask of false democracy of Yugoslav self-administration. But the truth will break the walls of curfew and Yugoslav censorship which have been established in Kosovo. Then the world will see what massacres and mass tortures were made by the Serbian army and police and it will recognize the true countenance of "Yugoslav self-administrative and humane socialism". Belegrade's lie about the murders in Kosovo will soon come to light.

All those who speak and write in Yugoslavia now about the events in Kosovo say that "small numbers of young people, these too deceived, have taken part in the demonstrations".

In case there were few people in the demonstrations, then why did Belgrade dispatch the army, the militia of the capital, tanks and aircraft? Why were so many people killed or wounded from the fire weapons and why was the curfew established? Is it for a "handful of enemies", for 10-15 people who were described by the Yugoslav leadership as "reactionaries, chauvinists and irredentists"?

Is it perhaps the wedding that "wedding" about which now messages full of indignation and anger against the "Albanian chauvinists and irredentists" and full of dithyrambic hymns for the "unity of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia" which are rushing like the waters of Danube, Sava and Drava, is spoiled for a lemon? Through such tricks it is not easy to deceive a valiant and mature people like the Albanian people who live in various parts of Yugoslavia, to deceive the workers, peasants, students and honest intelligentsia, who are conscious of the life and fate of their nation.

Hence, who incites and instigates the enmity among the peoples of Yugoslavia? The natural, correct and mature article of "ZERI I POPULLIT" or this frenzied campaign the leadership of Yugoslavia has launched against the Albanian population of Kosovo?

Perhaps, did the Yugoslav leadership want the Albanian press keep silence about the tragedy it caused in Kosovo, when the entire world press is speaking for several weeks on end and condemns the displayed savagery? Is it possible that it wanted from us to praise it for those evil acts it did in Kosovo? Why didn't we "instigate the hostility" and why didn't we "slander" even a year, or even a month before the turmoils were aroused in Kosovo?

No, gentlemen Yugoslav leaders. Be realistic, be cool headed. Look out what you are doing about the demonstrators and strikers of "Solidarnosc" in Poland. You are speaking, writing, criticising, advising, moralizing. Is it only you who have the right to speak and write about the others? Since we published our April 8 article until now we have been cool-headed, while the Yugoslav leadership down to the rag papers in Yugoslavia have vent their spleen and have launched numerous attacks against our country. Indeed, Radio Zagreb went so far as to threaten us that the existence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is being put in danger.

Zagreb forgets that Albania knows how to defend itself even without Zagreb. It must know that Yugoslavia, that of Tito, too, has in no time assisted in the liberation and safeguard of Albania. On the contrary, the Albanian national-liberation army has helped and has shed blood for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia. And we will again perform this sublime deed if Yugoslavia is in jeopardy. We say to the herald who spoke from Radio-Zagreb that what we say is clear and we keep our promises. Nothing unites the Albanians with Ustashas, Chetniks and Ballists (members of the Albanian reactionary organisation "Balli Kombetar"--ed note). On the contrary, the Albanians wherever they are fight against them, because they have been and are enemies of our peoples, they are murderers and mercenaries in service of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, etc. who work by all means to blow up the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Through innumerable speeches by the Yugoslav leaders and their press open threats are thundered against the Albanians of Yugoslavia for the future. This is a dangerous road. Therefore, we cannot fail to say to them, that they should not behave badly and brutally towards the Albanian population, that they should be cool-headed and just to them, that they should restrain the barbarous acts, that they should severely condemn those who gave the order and shot at the masses of the Albanians, that they should stabilize the spiritual, political and economic situation and forbid the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian heralds and their Albanian lackeys in Kosovo from slandering and attacking the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people.

In case they will continue to act as until now, nothing good will emerge. Let the Kosovo people themselves judge those Albanian leaders in Kosovo, who attacked the people. They know to distinguish the lackeys from their honest boys and sons UDB tries to compromise compelling them to speak and send messages for propaganda consumption.

We want the normalization of everything and we say to Radio Zagreb that it is true that history will judge who is right, you or we, Albanians. In the history of the Albanians you find no barbarisms as those of Ustashas, old and new. As for the fear Zagreb wants to create, it is unknown for the Albanians.

When the word is for some of their minorities, Yugoslavs protest even against the shop signs, that are not written in the native language, as in Carinthia. During his latest visit to Austria, the president of the Federal Executive Council, Djuranovic, asked for "the concrete solution of all the matters concerning the rights and the position of the Slovenian and Croatian national minorities" that live there. For this, we did not accuse and do not accuse him either "a counter-revolutionary" or "irredentist" or "chauvinist".

The defence of the rights of the Slovenian and Croatian minorities, who are not mown by the bullets of the machine-guns and are not supressed by the chains of the tanks, is considered as something normal by the Yugoslav Government. But when the People's Socialist Republic of Albania takes interest in the Albanian language and education, in the freedoms and the rights, in the economic situation, in the assassination en masse, in the imprisonment and tortures made to Albanians in Yugoslavia, this is allegedly "chauvinism" and "irredentism". From where does it come and where is the source of the great anti-Albanian allergy of the Yugoslav leaders and propaganda?

Did you, gentlemen, Yugoslav leaders forget, how did you fight in the Paris conference for Trieste, Pula, Rijeka etc? You were right. We called you neither "chauvinists", nor "irredentists". But, as you were not such, why did not you think that there existed an Albanian population, the third in Yugoslavia as for its number, which should have been united with Albania, your socialist ally in the national-liberation struggle? You were silent. Why were you silent, when you alleged to be so principled? Until 1968 you didn't give Kosovo even the status of autonomous region. Whey didn't President Tito realize what he said to Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the official talks they had in 1946, that Kosovo and other areas inhabited by Albanians belong to Albania and we will give them back but not now because actually the great-Serbian reaction would not accept such a thing"? [quotation marks as received]

Nevertheless, territorial claims have not been made on the part of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. One can not find such a thing in any document. But documents in defence of the rights of the Kosovo brothers and Albanians who live in other republics of Yugoslavia, rights that are recognised by the Yugoslav Constitution and that have been violated and are being violated to them, one will find in plenty, in the past and in the present. It depends on the stand and the policy of the Yugoslav Government towards the Albanians whether there will be or not in the future.

One after another, the Yugoslav leaders declare that "Kosovo will never be a republic... because this is not allowed by Serbia". "If Kosovo becomes a republic in the framework of the federation, they say, then federation will be ruined." They present the matter as if the Albanian areas are the "keystone" that holds the federation. These "arguments" do not stand either from the historic point of view, or from the economic and juridical ones, or from the content of the Constitution of Yugoslavia itself, or from the practice exercised by the other nations included in the Yugoslav state. But they show that areas have become a commodity and those who rule in Belgrade, continue to consider and treat them as such. "The Republic of Kosovo" within the Yugoslav federation is not invented by us. That was required from the people of Kosovo.

The changes in the status from region to republic etc, are internal matters of the peoples of Yugoslavia, are matters of the Albanian people themselves who live in Yugoslavia, who, on the basis of the Constitution of Yugoslavia itself, have the right to ask for them. Not only that nobody in the federation has the right to prevent the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia from these demands, but even less to attack, to injure, to kill and imprison them.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of interfering in their internal affairs because we say this truth. We have not interfered and we do not interfere in these internal affairs of theirs, about which we think that they can be solved correctly only through self-determination, understanding, sincere talks and cool-headedness on the part of all the sides.

Socialist Albania has not made even the smallest interference in Kosovo. It dispatched neither tanks, nor helicopters, nor policemen, it did not add border guards, it did not dispatch gun batteries in its borders and it did not make any official protest either. "ZERI I POPULLIT" published only an article on the tragedy caused in Kosovo, a well-weighted and politically, ideologically and historically substantiated article. This is how the world press evalualted it. Therefore, the responsibility about what happened in Kosovo does not fall on Albania; responsibility falls on those who made use of violence and not of cool-headedness and logic.

In Yugoslavia there have begun to appear books with bombastic titles that have the smell of megalomania and unbridled chauvinism, like "The Struggle for the Balkans" by Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, "Aspects of the Macedonian Matter" by Lazar Kolisevski. This, too, is described as "a book on the reality in Balkans". At the same time, in Bulgaria, a true colony of Soviet social-imperialists, long articles are being written, celebrations are being organized and speeches held on "Great Bulgaria" of Saint Stephan which extends its boundaries down to Albania.

These people have learned nothing and have forgotten nothing from history. Only the Albanians, who have become their prey, are allegedly "chauvinists and irredentists".

But let Lazar Kolisevski, former president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, speak himself. In the above-mentioned book, according to TANJUG agency broadcast on April 15, 1981, he writes: "It is a fact that we exist, that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation are developing and continuously being reaffirmed and that the feeling every Macedonian cherishes, that he is part of his nation, is becoming ever stronger no matter where he lives. This is a process that nobody can prevent."

How are we going to describe these thoughts, gentlemen Dolanc, Dragosavac, Vidic and others, who accuse the Albanians of Kosovo and Socialist Albania as "chauvinist and irredentist"?

Is "this process of development and affirmation that nobody can prevent" allegedly a right for the Macedonians alone? Does not this process develop in Kosovo, in Macedonia and in other areas of Yugoslavia, where over 2 million Albanians live? Isn't it a fact that there exist a people, who ask only for the right of the proclamation of the republic within the federation? Then this process, "which nobody prevents to the Macedonians," why is it prevented to the Albanians?

Do accord at least your thoughts with one another, but not at the expense of the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia!

The Yugoslav leadership is wrong when it thinks that it can deceive someone, and in particular the world opinion, when it says that Socialist Albania seeks to undermine the federation or it plays the game of those who want such a thing. If it likes, let it continue to be ill-disposed towards our truths, let it accuse us of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia if this pleases it. But this does not change at all the situation in the Yugoslav federation. The chronic disease which exists there does not come from the legitimate rights that the Albanians residing in Yugoslavia are asking for, but from the injustices and other deep weaknesses which exist in all the federation.

The federation has been undermined by Titoism itself, this hostile trend to Marxism-Leninism. It is undermined by the anti-socialist system of self-administration, the great debts Yugoslavia has been plunged to the throat and which have caused inflation, great unemployment, price rises, unequal development among the republics and regions, the impoverishment of the working masses, the emigration of hundreds and thousands of people from their homes.

The Yugoslav officials accuse us of being "nationalists, chauvinists, etc." They are almost accusing us of "all-Slavic." All these are not our ideologies. They are anti-Marxist ideologies, theories of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and revisionism.

You can carry out the revolution, as the Yugoslav leaders speak of and theorize everyday about it, but you may also deviate and betray it. Modern revisionism, of every hue and under whatever guise it is hidden, is an offspring of the capitalist bourgeoisie which combats the revolution, which distorts and quenches it in blood. Modern revisionism, like the bourgeoisie, does not unite the peoples, but splits them.

What happened in the Soviet Union? Khrushchev and his successors deviated from the great deed of the revolution, established capitalism and gave up the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. Now Great-Russian chauvinism severely dominates on the peoples of the Soviet Union, but at the same time Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, and other nationalisms have raised their heads. All-Slavism dominates in the Soviet Union and it was transformed from a socialist country into an aggressive and warmongering social-imperialist country. Brezhnev's theory on "limited sovereignty" has pinned by the throat all the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, members of Comecon and of "socialist community," who are forced by Soviet arms to give sickly smiles for they cannot cry and howl with rage instead.

This is a terrible history and a lesson to the peoples who want to live free and build socialism. It is as terrible as the imperialist ideology and practice of the U.S.A., which exploits not only the different populations living in America, but also the other peoples of the world. So, gentlemen theoreticians of BORBA there is ecalation of chauvinism and different kinds of chauvinism, despite their form and size, despite their masks and pompous words. Nationalism, chauvinism and all-Slavism are condemnable no matter where they may come from, no matter that those who cultivate them are big or small, but greater nationalism and chauvinism are more dangerous. This must not be forgotten. All these evils should be fought, they must be uprooted, and this can be done proceeding only from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. There is no other road.

The Yugoslavs pose themselves as clever politicians, but they show themselves not only naive, but also confused. The wounds and splits lie not in the demonstrations of Pristina. They must be sought in the line pursued by the Yugoslav leadership, in the great chauvinisms, old and new, that the anti-socialist system has created. Herein comes that split, that evil, which we do not like at all to the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia.

It is true that the peoples of Yugoslavia carried out the revolution. Nevertheless old fueds and divisions were not liquidated, they remained hidden like glowing embers under the ash, they remained rivalries among the Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, although these peoples fought against Serbian Chetniks and Croatian Ustashas and defeated them physically. It has not been systematically cleansed the nationalist and chauvinist ideology and spirit that would manifest itself, as it was manifested later on, in various forms, but almost with the same content, covered this time under the cloak of "socialism," of "unity fraternity" and "equal rights" of the peoples.

The heroic struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia could not fail to awaken a legitimate pride, but this was turned by the Yugoslav leadership into a Yugoslav megalomania and chauvinism, claiming that it were almost only they who had fought, that it were only they who made sacrifices, that the other peoples, too, fought only thanks to them and that they took them as an example. All this was turned into "a feeling of superiority" which had not at all the smell of Marxism-Leninism. The worm was inside the "red apple." It was gnawing at the revolution and, in order to justify this, they blamed Stalin, the Soviet Union, its true Leninist system and the ideology which had guided this system, Marxism-Leninism. Tito and company were acclaimed by the international bourgeoisie as anti-Stalin and anti-Soviet heroes of the day. Their megalomania increased tenfold.

Counterrevolution and "self-administrative socialism" revived the old rivalries and hegemonisms--Serbian-Serbian hegemonism on the one hand and the Croatian-Slovenian one on the other. These two hegemonisms and not Albanian "chauvinism" undermine the Yugoslav federation. The latter is used as a veil to hide great Serbian and great Croatian-Slovenian chauvinism.

The fight between these two clans for hegemony and power has been and is fierce. Tito posed himself as a moderator, but he was a supporter of Croatian-Slovenian hegemonism. His clan lived in great luxury, he got lion's share from the incomes of Yugoslavia, spent as much as he could from the loans of U.S. imperialism and the other capitalist states.

It is understandable that such a situation is not in favour of the Serbian clan and it fights to regain supremacy. The other poor republics go round these two rival clans. Through their stands in favour of one or the other side, someone more and someone less, all add duel to the big fire which exists in this socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has never witnessed stability.

The sole positive and neutral factor in this federation is the Albanian factor. The Albanians in Yugoslavia have been despised from the political, economical and cultural-educational point of view, but at the same time they have been the most patient and more realistic factor in the political-economic chaos Yugoslavia had been plunged in after the Second World War, a chaos which weighed down more on Albanians in particular.

No Yugoslav politician paid attention to such an important factor. In the chess-board of Yugoslav politicians, the Albanian element was a pawn which they might move as they liked and could do whatever they liked. The policy pursued by Tito-Kardelj and Rankovic has been not only wrong towards the Albanians, but it has also been a savage and annihilating one. The Albanians were patient, but they did not yield. Though later on Kosovo became an autonomous region, it remained the poorest economically and the most neglected politically in the "self-administration" system. Under these conditions the people of Kosovo required the status of the republic in the context of the Yugoslav federation.

Is this demand a splitting factor of Yugoslavia or such are the great Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian rivalries? It is more than evident that it is the latter. The Albanians are not champions in these rivalries and they do not have ambitions for hegemony and supremacy over the others. They do not keep their eyes on one or the other superpower to gain support and backing to seize dominant positions in federation.

The Yugoslav leadership and press blame the Albanian people of Kosovo for the demonstrations organised there, and then accused socialist Albania and together with it Ustashas, Chetniks and Ballists in Europe and in America. In order to close the cycle, they put all of us in a sack, thinking with levity that they solved the enigma. They served up this solution to the world opinion to eat. But nobody sups the broth cooked up by the Yugoslavs.

The revisionist leadership wants to hide the true reasons of the event in Kosovo. Its stand is fraught with dangers not only to the peoples of Yugoslavia but also to Albania and the other peoples of the Balkans. Therefore we do not hide our opinions and openly speak where these dangers come from.

He who goes deep into these key problems of the Yugoslav life will soon draw the conclusion that it is neither socialist Albania, nor the Albanians living in Yugoslavia those that undermine the federation. Moreover, as it comes out from the interview of Doland, the Albanians stand for the preservation of the Yugoslav federation. But Doland is quite wrong when he thinks to restrain the Serbian ambitions for hegemony in the fact of the Croatian-Slovenian hegemony, by definitely saying that "Kosovo will never become a republic." the tribute of this antagonism must not become Kosovo.

In these situations of international crisis, not only economic but also political, in these aggressive, warmongering rivalries between U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, do these superpowers have a finger in the weakening of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the instigation of the Great-Serbian chauvinism and the Great Croatian-Slovenian one? It is not accidental that the Yugoslav "politicians" do not scratch this great wound.

Why is this dangerous situation concealed? It is concealed because Yugoslavia is not independent, but it depends on these two great powers. The theory of Tito about the "non-aligned" countries is empty, it is false. Life proves this Yugoslavia cannot do without debts. Undoubtedly, this economic dependence is interwoven with the political, hegemonic and strategic interests the two superpowers have in Yugoslavia.

The fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia must be defended from these two savage enemies and from other overt and covert enemies, gentlemen of "nin". We are repeating this to you for the one hundredth time that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia are neither enemies of the peoples of Yugoslavia, nor of the Yugoslav federation. You, gentlemen, Yugoslav policitians, do not listen to us if you do not like, but we are convinced that the peoples of Yugoslavia will listen to us and will understand our thought, our sincere feelings, the fraternal feelings of the Albanians.

We, Albanian communists are masters in our home and conduct the policy we deem better and more correct. Others might not agree with it. It is their right. We are watched and judged by our people. The facts, life, work show that the Albanian people support and defend with might and main the correct line of their party and state power. The Yugoslav official propaganda attacks with contemptuous epithets like "Stalinist, Etatist-bureaucratic" and other such rubbish our socialist system, set up on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. A complete pseudo-theory is created for this mission. The Yugoslavs defend and propagate their "self-administrative" system as one "of the most perfect forms of socialism." This is their business.

But it is our duty to defend the Marxist-Leninist theory scientific socialism and the construction of socialism in Albania relying on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We fight and will fight staunchly against world capitalism, against imperialism and modern revisionism, be it Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav or Eurocommunist, we will fight against any kind of reformism that preaches the extinction of class struggle, that degenerates the working class, that splits its militant unity and undermines the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation.

We are and fight ideologically against Yugoslav "self-administration," which is a capitalist, pseudo-socialist, counterrevolutionary system for us. We do and will do this unwaveringly.

Therefore, it is clear that ideologically and politically we are not and we will never be contiguous with the Yugoslav revisionists. We are aware of this truth, and they, too, are well aware of it. All the world knows this.

But, though we never come to terms ideologically and politically, Albania and Yugoslavia have drawn the same conclusion that for the sake of the good neighbourliness and of the stability and peace in the region of the Balkans, normal trade, cultural and other relations must develop between our two states.

We must admit that both sides have found understanding in this road. The trade between the two countries has developed and is developing in a satisfactory way not only in the interest of Albania, as the capitalist bourgeoisie in the world tries to present it, but also in the interest of Yugoslavia. The cultural relations and especially with Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro have gone on well, succesfully, without any incident and in a fruitful understanding. [paragraph continues]

Neither the Albanian side, nor the Yugoslav side have created any serious hindrance. We consider these relations, as well as the trade relations as something good, which must continue and must not be interrupted. Even the smallest sign of "Albanian chauvinism and irredentism", as the Yugoslav leadership and its press are now claiming, has been and could be manifested on the part of our citizens that have visited Kosovo, beginning from our minister of education and culture down to the professors and the most ordinary Albanian tourist. Likewise, we can say that Yugoslav citizens have acted in the same way. No manifestation whatsoever has been observed which would destroy this trend.

By writing this article we do not aim at arousing polemics, or at adding fuel to the fire. We were forced to give an answer to the anti-Albanian campaign that has actually burst out in Yugoslavia and to express our opinions once more openly on the events of Kosovo. At the same time, we wanted to express again our desire and readiness for the further development of the relations of good neighbourliness, something which is in the interest of both sides.

ATA VIEWS SOVIET GENERAL KULIKOV'S BULGARIA VISIT

AU221041 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Apr 81

["Commander-in-Chief of the Aggressive Warsaw Treaty in Bulgaria"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 22 Apr (ATA)--The commander-in-chief of the Joint Forces of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty Kulikov, who is accompanied by the chief of the general staff of this treaty, Gribkov, arrived on a visit in Bulgaria.

The visit of the two top militarymen of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty to Bulgaria is linked with the further implementation of the military plans of this treaty, which aim at maintaining all the member countries under the domination of the Soviet social-imperialists. As is known, Bulgaria has been transformed into a base of attack by the Soviet social-imperialists and the revisionist leaders of that country blindly obey Moscow's political and military diktat.

Kulikov, together with the other top Soviet social-imperialist generals frequently pay such "visits" to the vassal countries to sound out the allies and to tighten them more closely to the aggressive chariot of the Soviet Union. Two weeks ago, Kulikov together with his suite of generals, directed and observed closely the "Soyuz-81" military manoeuvers which were conducted in some East European revisionist countries.

LLESHI SENDS GREETINGS TO ZIMBABWE PRESIDENT

AU171643 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Apr 81

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Canaan Banana, president of the Republic of Zimbabwe:

On the occasion of your national holiday, the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Zimbabwe, I send to you, and through you to the Zimbabwe people, most cordial greetings in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and me personally.

We wish the friendly Zimbabwe people further achievements in the struggle for the country's progress and prosperity and in the defense of their victories against neocolonialism and imperialism.

I express the conviction that the relations of friendship between our two peoples and countries will continue to develop in the future.

LEADERS ATTEND LENIN BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION IN SOFIA

AU221822 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Summary] A festive celebration marking the 111th birthday of Vladimir Ilich Lenin was held at the Georgi Dimitrov Hall in Sofia this afternoon. "Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Alexsandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Lyudmila Zhivkova, Ornyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and other party and state leaders as well as Nikita Tolubeuev, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, attended the celebration."

The celebration was opened by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, who gave the floor to Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee secretary. Balev read a report on Lenin's role in developing Marxism and on his contribution to the world revolutionary process.

FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV ARRIVES IN ANKARA FOR VISIT

For Ankara radio and ANATOLIA coverage of the visit to Turkey of a delegation headed by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, see the Turkey section of the 21 April Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

BTA Reports Talks

AU221930 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Ankara, 22 Apr (BTA)--The official talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ilter Turkmen, continued here today. Discussed were bilateral relations. The two ministers noted their positive development in recent years. Willingness was expressed to continue and deepen the contacts on different levels in all spheres of bilateral relations. Mr Petur Mladenov underlined that the Government of Bulgaria is firmly determined to continue the realization of its policy of good neighborliness toward Turkey, corresponding to the interests of the two countries. He stressed that the relations between the two states can contribute to consolidation of trust, security, peace and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and the world. Minister Petur Mladenov explained in detail the program of promoting Bulgaria's good neighborly relations made public by Mr Todor Zhivkov in his report before the 12th BCP Congress.

Dwelling on economic relations, the two ministers positively assessed their former development. At the same time they directed attention to some unexplored possibilities to deepen bilateral cooperation in this sphere still further. Discussed was the question of activating the setting of joint companies for cooperation with third countries, for the establishment of joint engineering companies and projects.

They also gave positive assessment to bilateral cooperation in the field of transport. Emphasized was the necessity of concrete measures to further promote the joint initiatives and cooperation in road transport and especially the sea transport contacts between Bulgaria and Turkey.

The development of cooperation in the sphere of tourism was also assessed as good. Some possibilities were outlined for a more effective use of international tourism in the interests of the two countries.

The two ministers noted the progress made in bilateral relations in science and culture.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ilter Turkmen also discussed some problems existing between the two countries as, for instance, the determination of the frontier line in the region of River Rezovska, the statute of the Dryanovets frontier height, the state of the Bulgarian exarchic property in Turkey, etc. Some real progress in marking the frontier in line in the region of River Rezovska has been made. The two sides expressed willingness to solve all the problems in the spirit of good neighborliness and mutual respect.

In the morning Mr Petur Mladenov met Mr Turgut Ozal, deputy prime minister and minister of state, with whom he discussed some economic and trade issues of interest to the two countries.

Today Mr Bulent Ulusu, prime minister of Turkey, gave an official luncheon in honor of the Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr Petur Mladenov, and the accompanying officials.

The official talks between Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ilter Turkmen continued in the afternoon. Exchanging views on the international situation, the two foreign ministers agreed that the major problem is the preservation of peace and that all states should make efforts to this effect.

The two ministers emphasized the great importance of the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference as a long-term program for detente, security and cooperation on the continent.

The two parties to the talks expressed earnestly their views on the causes which have led to exacerbation of the international situation and agreed that it is necessary to make efforts so as to maintain the balance both of the strategic and of other kinds of weapons on increasingly lower levels.

In this connection the two ministers spoke of starting negotiations on the nuclear missile weapons in Europe.

The foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Turkey stated that in general the positions of the two countries on the Middle East issue coincide. In order to achieve lasting peace in the Middle East it is necessary for Israel to withdraw from all Arab lands occupied in 1967, to recognize the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to their own state, to ensure conditions for all states in that region to live in peace and security.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ilter Turkmen also spoke in support of the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the negotiations on the settling of the crisis, as its key issue is the Palestine issue itself.

The two ministers informed each other of their relations with the neighboring countries and agreed that bilateral, as well as multilateral relations should be developed in the Balkans in the spheres of mutual interest on which certain agreements have already been achieved. Some other questions of mutual interests have been discussed, too.

The talks between Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ilter Turkmen proceeded in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION PLAN SIGNED WITH LIBYA

AU211900 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Apr 81 p 4

[Text] On 17 April in Sofia the Bulgarian-Libyan Friendship Society and the Libyan-Bulgarian Friendship Society signed a plan for cooperation during 1981. The ceremony was attended by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and (Ramadan 'Abd al-Aziz), secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau.

SOVIET MARSHAL KULIKOV LAYS WREATH AT MAUSOLEUM

AU211402 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] On 21 April Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army Gen Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum, and thus expressed their deep respect and gratitude to the cause of our people's leader and teacher and noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement.

The ceremony was attended by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the main political administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, [title as heard], and deputy ministers of national defense. Col Gen Khachik Ambaryan, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces in Bulgaria, and the military attaches of the socialist countries also attended the ceremony.

UN REPRESENTATIVE ON U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS

AU220946 Sofia BTA in English 0850 GMT 22 Apr 81

["Bulgaria Insists on Decisive Measures"--BTA headline]

[Text] New York, 22 Apr (BTA)--At the regular session of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) marking the "Decade for Actions Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination", Mr Dimitur Kostov, Bulgaria's UN deputy-permanent representative recalled that being now the 8th year of the UN decade for struggling against racism and racial discrimination it is exigent to make the necessary estimation and countdown and to take more active measures for the genuine eradication of this disgraceful act in the two years left.

Dimitur Kostov expressed his concern over the fact that not all expectations of the world public and not all respective UN resolutions have been implemented. "The racist policy and practice, being the most flagrant violation of the human rights is a grave threat looming over international peace and security", stressed the Bulgarian representative.

He fully unmasked the anti-humane policy of gross apartheid in the South African Republic. "For a long time it has been publicly acknowledged that the racist regime in the South African Republic can survive only through the immense material moral, political, military, economic and financial support rendered by some Western countries and in the first place by the United States", that is constantly increasing its efforts at "saving and preserving the say as a fortress of imperialism and neocolonial exploitation", Mr Kostov continued.

The Bulgarian representative strongly appealed to the United Nations to take all possible measures to cut off this criminal aid and to eradicate completely and fully the last remains of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid from our planet.

BRIEFS

TURKISH BANKER, LUKANOV--Sofia, 8 Apr (BTA)--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received the visiting here manager of Turkish National Bank, Mr (Osman Stiklar). Some questions of the two countries' currency and financial relations were discussed. Confidence was expressed that possibilities for the further dynamic development of the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey exist. Mr Veselin Nikiforov, president of the Bulgarian National Bank, attended the meeting. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 8 Apr 81 AU]

ELECTION COMMISSION--A public meeting devoted to the formation of a Central Election Commission for the forthcoming 7 June elections was held in Sofia today. The meeting elected Sava Manchev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, as chairman of the Central Election Commission. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 81 AU]

LILOV IN PETRICH--A celebration marking the opening of a new supermarket was held in the town of Petrich this afternoon. Aleksandur Lilov; Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and public services; and Vladimir Sandev, first secretary of the Blagoevgrad party committee, were among those attending the celebration. Aleksandur Lilov cut the ribbon and declared the new supermarket open. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 10 Apr 81 AU]

HUNGARIAN NATIONAL HOLIDAY--On the occasion of Hungary's national holiday, Jeno Sebestyen, Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria, held a reception at the embassy's premises, Ognyan Doynov, Andrey Lukanov, Dimitur Stanishev and other officials were among those attending the reception. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 81 AU]

KURON VIEWED AS SEEKING TO UNDERMINE POLISH SYSTEM

LD221804 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] While all honest people in Poland are making considerable efforts to cope with the crisis in their country, others are thwarting these efforts as the socialist system apparently is a thorn in their flesh. Among the latter is the 45-year-old economist Jacek Kuron. Jacek Kuron has not achieved many positive things in his life. Since his student years his activities have been directed against the state. As a result of this he has spent several years in prison. At present, he is heading what is called the Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense, KOR for short. This organization had been set up in 1975 originally under the name of Committee for the Defense of Workers. This illegal antisocialist organization associated enemies of socialism and anticommunists. It is Kuron's aim to force Poland's United Workers Party onto the defensive and to undermine the socialist system by helping to create what it refers to as political pluralism.

The Polish daily TRYBUNA LUDU revealed Kuron's intentions earlier this year. The paper wrote: The first target named by Kuron is the development of self-administration and unions of the peasant movement, of student, scientific, cultural, economic and local movements. These self-administration movements would formally not be turned into political parties but would be taking over their function with a view to liquidating the leading role of the United Workers Party, or at least restricting it in many basic spheres of the country's internal life.

Kuron himself declared that he sees the future of opposition in these movements. In an interview granted to the French weekly Paris MATCH in February, Kuron admitted who actually controls the so-called independent Solidarity union in Poland. In this interview, he said almost every member or cooperator of KOR works in Solidarity, in Peasants' Solidarity, or in student organizations, and he added that although he himself is active in the background he is a leading personality in the Solidarity union.

When KOR was established some of its leaders did not even hesitate to support methods of violence. For technical reasons, Kuron sided in 1980 with those who supported the concept of gradual, stage-by-stage liquidation of socialist achievements in Poland and so-called creeping counterrevolution. But another of Kuron's interviews granted to Swedish television last September proved that he does not intend to give up methods of violence. When he was asked whether he expects more radical steps to be taken by the government against KOR, he replied: What more radical steps? I hope they are aware that in the event of more radical steps (?committees) will be burning and they will be hanged.

Kuron is in contact with anticommunist centers abroad supporting KOR in its antistate and antisocialist activities. He also has contacts with the subversive Radio Free Europe, with the Voice of America and the BBC and with an international Trotskiyist center in the Netherlands. His foreign policy orientation is reflected in what he said in August 1980 in an interview granted to the paper DIE WELT. He spoke in favor of the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic in a reunited Germany and the reason he gave was that Poland would thus border on a noncommunist country which, he maintained, would facilitate internal developments in Poland.

This, then, is the political profile of a man who exerts considerable influence on the leadership of the so-called independent Solidarity union in Poland.

SLOVAK PRAVDA WARNS AGAINST 'CLASS ENEMY' PLANS

AU221506 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Apr 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Revolutionary Duty"]

[Excerpt] In light of the 16th CPCZ Congress, some of the experience from our not too distant past can be seen as particularly compelling.

Above all, our experience is that the class enemy acts as a parasite on our errors, shortcomings and weak spots. He always gets in through the back door which we might open to him in the economy or ideology. The best thing would be to make no mistakes, but in every human activity there is the risk of making mistakes precisely because each human activity is the product of human minds and hands. We are not really interested in an ideal perfectionism and infallibility in everything we do, but in a Leninist attitude toward mistakes and shortcomings, beginning with creating an atmostphere of irreconcilability toward their authors, continuing with criticism and ending with rectification. "Where there is no criticism or self-criticism, it is difficult to find a favorable atmosphere for a matter of fact and principled assessment of problems, for resolving tasks with initiative; in places like these, shortcomings cannot be effectively eliminated," stresses the Central Committee report of the 16th party congress.

It is also our experience that the party--in any historical period and particularly in a period of rapid changes--must be up to its tasks in all respects. It must not slacken practical initiative, foster revolutionary qualities in communists, maintain a high degree of action-capability of party bodies and organizations, daily strengthen the party's authority and the honor and respect of each party member, deepen the unity of the party and people and unite them in building socialism. With the party united in ideology, organization, action and internationalism, the class enemy will find no back door for his plans.

RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL VIEWS STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM

LD220850 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 22 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] "Along a Common Path" is the title of a RUDE PRAVO editorial devoted to the congresses of fraternal communist parties. The article emphasizes that the congresses of fraternal parties always are an important event both in the life of the actual country and in the life of the entire socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement and the forces of peace and progress.

In recent days this was confirmed by the 12th BCP Congress and the 10th SED Congress. The two congresses had a lot in common, the editorial notes. Above all it was loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism which was clearly voiced. The communists of Bulgaria and the GDR confirmed that their countries were a firm link in the socialist community. The congresses also testified to the fruitful work and great achievements of the last period and displayed the full lives of fraternal nations.

The congress deliberations of the fraternal parties also showed that the confrontation of the two worlds--the new and the old--was unceasingly developing in the interest of socialism. The editorial says that the congresses confirmed that socialist internationalism was an active and invigorating force that was irreplaceable in the construction of new society. The congresses of the fraternal parties also confirmed, as a major tenet of their foreign policy, the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries, and their all around, ever deeper cooperation in all spheres of life.

This is in the interest of the individual countries as well as in the interest of the socialist community as a whole. Unity has always been and continues to be the strongest weapon of the forces of socialism and progress, the editorial emphasizes. At the same time unity has been and is the main target for the attacks of our enemies who, time and time again, are trying to drive a wedge into the united front of socialism and to snatch away the weakest link of the front.

The congresses of the fraternal parties clearly said that they would never allow counterrevolution to capture positions in those places which it had had to leave before the October Revolution. The congress deliberations were not indifferent to the situation in Poland where antisocialist forces--supported and controlled from Western anticommunist centres--are openly attacking the socialist system and are endangering its foundations. The congresses of the fraternal parties expressed their full support for the Polish communists and all patriotic forces of Poland endeavouring to ensure a socialist future for their country.

In conclusion, the editorial stresses that the congresses of the fraternal parties have become an important contribution to the strengthening of the unity and homogeneity of the socialist community and the international communist and workers' movement, and they have demonstrated the lifegiving power of socialism.

DAILY ALLEGES S. KOREAN SOLDIERS IN PERSIAN GULF

AU221323 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Apr 81 p 6

[Milan Madr commentary in the "A Note" column: "Workers or Soldiers?"]

[Text] The use of military force to assert U.S. imperialist interests has traditionally played a very important role in the foreign political doctrines of that great power. In the pursuit of this goal, the previous and--even far more emphatically and dangerously--the present administrations have been squeezing their way militarily, with expansive recklessness, into the area of the Middle East, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

The procedures being applied are mostly well-known but there are also less traditional methods. The United States would like to wind around individual countries and whole areas a noose of bases, which would be at its disposal in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Oman and at other places. It is feverishly building a gigantic intervention force made up of so-called rapid deployment troops, designated explicitly and exclusively for military aggression abroad. It would also like to have its own units in Saudi Arabia and, if not there, then at least--as the American press recently reported--in the United Arab Emirates. U.S. Secretary of State Haig has been trying recently in the Middle East to piece together a pact on anti-Soviet foundations, the members of which would obediently respond to American orders.

Neither is the use of various nontraditional forms being ruled out--for instance the use of third countries' armed forces. For a rather long period of time the foreign press has speculated on the possibility of a permanent deployment of one division of Pakistani troops in Saudi Arabia. According to those considerations, the presence of the members of those troops--who are Muslims--would not be as provocative as, undoubtedly, the presence of American soldiers known for their frequently defiant misdeeds.

Of interest in this respect is another fact related to Saudi Arabia. It is known that a large number of building projects in that country are being carried out by South Korean firms. Those firms are employing tens of thousands of South Korean workers, who are simultaneously temporary members of the South Korean Army. The "workers-soldiers" live in military camps located near key centers of the Persian Gulf countries--capital cities, traffic junctions, ports and airports. The press of numerous Arab countries has reported that large quantities of arms and ammunition are deposited in the camps.

What for? South Korean soldiers took part, alongside the United States, in the aggression against the Vietnamese people and were noted for their exceptional cruelty. Are they prepared to act today in the same way, on American instructions, in the Persian Gulf?

'ANTISOCIALIST' FINE ARTS TRENDS CRITICIZED

AU221239 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 81 p 5

[Dusan Konecny article: "Official and Unofficial Art? An Old-New Myth of Contemporary Bourgeois Aesthetics"]

[Excerpts] Recently in our fine arts we have more and more often come across the unjustified, artificial issue of so-called official and unofficial art.

The demagogy using the terms official and unofficial art is not utterly new. We experienced it in the sixties when rightwing opportunist art theoreticians and critics used every means to denigrate socialist committed realistic art--calling it official, demagogic and fruitless--to be able to more easily smuggle into our country so-called unofficial art from the West, which not only had nothing in common with socialism but also helped to establish in our country bourgeois ethical and aesthetic concepts and norms marked by celebration of unbridled subjectivism, mysticism, cynicism, destructiveness, hopelessness, cheerlessness and so forth. The exponents of this demagogic confusion of terms did not mind at all that the "unofficial" art was official in the bourgois countries and that it was gradually becoming official even in our country, to the degree to which rightwing opportunist elements usurped leadership in our artists unions and other institutions.

The confusion of the terms "official" and "unofficial" art is not confined to our art. It is part of the Western antisocialist centers' ideological strategy against the countries of the socialist community. The Western heckling radio stations are constantly praising to the skies so-called unofficial art in the socialist countries. Sometimes they speak openly about dissident art, the representatives of which they present as martyrs and heroes. (Incidentally, it is no secret that the overwhelming majority of those "martyrs" very often live on means obtained through all kinds of channels from the West.) Remember the so-called dissident biennale in Venice a few years ago. Exhibitions, unjustly entitled "Czechoslovak Fine Arts" are often being organized in the United States and other Western bourgeois countries.

Those voices are being joined by the voices of our domestic old-new and new enemies of socialist fine arts and the party's cultural policy. They obviously assume that the time has come again to instigate chaos in culture and arts, chaos that might pave the way for social chaos, as we convinced ourselves in the sixties. The influence of those individuals in Prague and other places of our republic does not have to be overestimated but we must not underestimate it either. Those circles are designating as good "unofficial art" graphic production that is consciously aimed at the aesthetic and ethical norms and ideals of our society and against principles of socialist culture and that is seeking contact not only with Western graphic "novelties" but also with their ideological basis. There are, however, very few such outspokenly antisocialist phenomena in our graphic arts. That is why the protagonists of "unofficial art" would like, in order to make their efforts more effective, to make illicit use of the works by upright artists inclined in one way or another toward socialist realism or close to its methods who are still hesitant to present their works at nationwide displays or other ventures of socialist graphic life. In the interest of asserting "unofficial art," those irresponsible organizers sometimes evoke artificial generational conflicts.

Some graphic artists--especially young artists--need experiments to test new means of graphic expression, style, technique and so forth. That must be understood and tolerated (the need is tolerated, to a reasonable extent, in other socialist countries also).

However, one must not allow those artists to fall, often against their will, under the influence of irresponsible elements and get into conflict with the party's and the socialist state's cultural policy and with the interests of socialism and our people--to a position of celebrating destructiveness, brute force, cynicism, mysticism, hopelessness, self-pity, perversion and so forth, or willful acts for their own sake, in which they sometimes degenerate almost into dilettantism in pursuit of their exhibitionistic desire to be "unofficial."

If they are threatened with such danger, it is necessary to tell them openly that by pursuing their experiments they are causing damage to themselves, their talent and society.

Experiments in the fine arts are, for the most part, nothing dangerous. The danger usually begins where a false interpretation and false generalization of experimental activity sets in. In the arsenal of the theoreticians and journalists who would like to assert so-called unofficial art as official, we again come across the hackneyed views and phrases we got to know in the sixties. However, they are not known, deplorably, to the present generation of fine young artists. In the opening speeches and introductions to catalogues of all kinds of dubious exhibitions, the defenders of so-called unofficial art call for the elimination of concreteness from works of fine art, especially for the abstract man. The old surrealistic anthropological concept of man as an abstract phenomenon, who is not determined historically, is being substantiated with new "arguments": that mankind as such is allegedly much more than a real, living person. The aforementioned theoreticians and journalists are again calling for art's independence of society and reality in general, for art for art's sake, for the self-realization of one's ego and so forth. They do not speak about the socialist society but about some sort of a modern society as such, in which man is allegedly alienated, abandoned, at the mercy of his fate...and they welcome the portrayal of such a society and such people. All that is veiled by vague phrases about humanism.

In pushing through so-called unofficial art, its apologists try to make use of all kinds of phenomena that irritate the petit bourgeois, or in which he takes pleasure, even at the price of dusting off old, dead official pseudo-art. They like to publish phenomena such as the academic style of the 19th century, mystical aspects of art nouveau and symbolism, orthodox surrealism, naive art expressing nostalgia for the old beautiful world that no longer exists, and do not hesitate to support dilettantism and kitsch. Some theoreticians would like to cast doubt again on everything that has been created in the fifties and to fully restore the ideological and creative chaos of the sixties.

It is undoubtedly necessary to support a lively creative activity and creative ferment in our fine arts. However, we must not allow any abuse of this ferment by irresponsible people to disturb the ideological unity of our fine arts front, which is an integral part of our socialist culture, to elicit artificial generational conflicts and the formation of cliques and to asset so-called unofficial art.

STROUGAL RECEIVES APRO, HUNGARIAN DELEGATION

LD222212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received at the Hrzan Palace in Prague today a delegation of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic, led by its chairman, Antal Apro.

The two representatives evaluated a wide spectrum of issues connected with the results achieved in the development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations and which are positively reflected in fruitful cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

They discussed the possibilities to be utilized for the further intensification of cooperation, especially in deepening production cooperation and specialization, and in the implementation of long-term plans in this field.

They also emphasized the importance of the exchange of experiences which the two countries gained in the process of the improvement of management of national economy.

Comrades Lubomir Strougal and Antal Apro also evaluated some topical issues of foreign policy, the positive solution of which is in the interest of both countries.

The Hungarian National Assembly delegation was also received this morning by the chairman of the Czech National Council, Evzen Erban.

LEADERS MEET WITH VISITING IRAQI OFFICIAL

Arrival in Prague

LD221240 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, arrived in Czechoslovakia today at the invitation of Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal. At Ruzyne airport, which was decorated with the state flags of the two countries, the guest was welcomed by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, by Deputy Federal Premiers Vaclav Hula, Josef Korcak, Karoli Laco, Matej Lucan, Josef Simon and Jindrich Zahradnik, and by other representatives of our political and public life. After the playing of the Czechoslovak and Iraqi national anthems, Taha Yasin Ramadan and Lubomir Strougal reviewed the honor guard of the Prague garrison.

Talks With Strougal

LD222136 Prague CTK in English 1942 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 22 Apr (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak-Iraqi relations and some international topics were discussed at the talks which started here Wednesday between Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and visiting Iraqi First Deputy Premier and member of the Revolutionary Command Council Taha Yasin Ramadan.

The two leaders informed each other of the development in their countries and the main tasks which their countries will solve in the political, economic and social spheres. In this context they reviewed the extent, standard and possibilities of bilateral cooperation. They stressed the necessity of linking up with the attained results and striving, on both sides, to intensify bilateral relations.

Strougal Hosts Dinner

LD222336 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2150 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Excerpt] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal gave a festive dinner in the Cernin Palace today in honor of Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Iraqi Government, and his party. The dinner was also attended by the deputy premiers of the federal government, Vaclav Hula, Josef Korcak, Matej Lucan, Josef Simon and Jindrich Zahradnik; the deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, Tomas Travnicek, and other personages.

Dinner Toasts Exchanged

LD222142 Prague CTK in English 2000 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 22 Apr (CETEKA)--Czechoslovakia will continue to fully apply the principles of all-round support for and cooperation with developing countries, Premier Lubomir Strougal said tonight proposing a toast at a dinner he gave for Iraqi First Deputy Premier and member of the Revolutionary Command Council Taha Yasin Ramadan and his entourage.

Our solidarity and all-round assistance belongs to states which have opted for a socialist road of development and are consistently struggling against neocolonialism and racism and for final liberation from imperialist domination, Lubomir Strougal added.

Commenting on the Iraq-Iran conflict he said it is necessary in the interest of both countries to halt as soon as possible the military operations and solve the dispute by political talks. World imperialism is trying to abuse the conflict in its favour, in order to escalate disputes in the developing world and enforce its interests in this region. The premier reiterated Czechoslovakia's friendship towards the Arab countries, and pledged support to any initiative leading to a just and complete settlement of the Middle East crisis. Lubomir Strougal also recalled the traditional cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Iraq and Czechoslovakia's participation in the construction of the (?Iraqi industry).

Iraqi First Deputy Premier and member of the Revolutionary Command Council Taha Yasin Ramadan stressed in his toast the necessity of intensifying Iraqi-Czechoslovak relations and expressed the conviction that all-round cooperation will be beneficial not only to bilateral relations but will also add to stability in the world. He said his country wants to continue strengthening the liberation and progressive front in the world, countering imperialism and Zionism and intensifying cooperation with friendly countries.

Taha Yasin Ramadan said Iraq is a country fighting for complete independence, deeply believing in the policy of nonalignment and resolutely opposed to the policy of aggression and expansion in the solution of international disputes. He also spoke about the present international situation and possibilities of solving the Iraq-Iran conflict. He said there will be no just peace in the Middle East until the Zionist aggression, the occupation of Arab lands is stopped and until the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their territory and to establish an independent state are recognized.

LEADERS MEET WITH DRA'S DOST; AGREEMENT SIGNED

Consular Agreement Signed

LD221236 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] The talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan continued today in the Cernin Palace in Prague. At the close of the talks the two ministers signed a consular agreement which will ensure the protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the organizations and citizens of one state operating on the territory of the other. After signing the agreement, Minister Chnoupek stressed that the document broadens the existing framework of contacts between the two countries and expressed the view that it would contribute to the strengthening of all around cooperation between the states and peoples of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

Shah Mohammad Dost noted that the consular agreement complements the existing contractual documents concluded between Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. He said that it creates prerequisites for a still more extensive exchange of delegations between the two states and therefore amounts to another step towards the strengthening of the friendship between the Czechoslovak and Afghan peoples.

Strougal Meets With Dost

LD221540 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Today Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Shah Mohammad Dost, foreign affairs minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA], in the Hrzan Palace in Prague.

The two representatives stressed that cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan is being successfully broadened in all spheres and that all the necessary prerequisites for its further dynamic and long term development exist.

Advantageous conditions are being created above all for the intensification of bilateral economic activity and for the deepening of trade relations, this being of the utmost importance for both countries. In connection with long term intentions, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal assured his guest that the Czechoslovak people will continue to support the revolutionary fight of the Afghan people. He expressed the conviction that the visit of the DRA foreign minister will contribute to the all-round development of mutual relations between Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia.

CHNOUPEK MEETS WITH ARAB LEAGUE'S CHEDLI KLIBI

LD222230 Prague CTK in English 1938 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 22 Apr (CETEKA)--Secretary-General of the Arab League Chedli Klibi arrived here Wednesday at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, who also welcomed his guest at Prague airport.

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

LD230834 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 22 Apr (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here Wednesday General Director in the Dutch Foreign Ministry Kaspar Willem Reinink on the occasion of consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries. The two officials discussed international political topics and bilateral issues.

CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION BEGINS IN PRAGUE

LD231020 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Text] The second session of the CPCZ Central Committee began this morning in the Spanish Hall in Prague Castle. The session is discussing some questions connected with the preparations of the general elections to representative bodies.

CPCZ HOLDS CONFERENCE ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Fojtik Chairs Meeting

LD230122 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Today a conference of secretaries for ideological work of party regional and city committees in Prague and Bratislava was held in Prague under the chairmanship of Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The conference discussed the elaboration of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the sphere of propaganda and agitation. The conference was attended by Oldrich Svestka, member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO.

Fojtik Speech Reported

AU231103 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 81 p 1

["Z"-signed report: "Aktiv of Workers in the Ideological Sphere"]

[Text] Prague, 21 April--The tasks of propaganda and agitation after the 16th CPCZ Congress were discussed on Tuesday in Prague by a nationwide aktiv of leading workers in the ideological sphere.

The main speech was delivered by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik. He spoke on the tasks of ideological and educational work in familiarizing the broad public with the "Report on the Party's Activity and Social Development since the 15th CPCZ Congress and on the Party's Forthcoming Tasks" that was delivered at the 16th CPCZ Congress by General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Gustav Husak, and with other congress documents. He placed emphasis on consistently working out party congress conclusions in the field of propaganda and agitation, especially in the press, radio and television.

Representatives of party and state institutions and central information media spoke in the discussion.

CPSL CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION DISCUSSES ELECTIONS

LD222304 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee held a session in Bratislava today. The deliberations were opened and chaired by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

On the agenda of the session was a report on the state of the preparations for elections to representative bodies delivered by Jan Janik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. The Central Committee noted that the realization of the elections significantly influenced the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, particularly regarding the development of socialist statehood and the further deepening of socialist democracy. The political basis of the preelection activity is in the program of the further construction of an advanced socialist society. He expressed the view that the elections will confirm the high trust of the working people in the policy of the CPCZ. The CPSL Central Committee noted that the preparation of the elections is creating prerequisites for raising the initiative and activity of citizens which, under the leadership of party bodies and organizations, must be directed by the National Front particularly on raising the efficiency of production and the quality of all work, and on the fulfillment and desirable overfulfillment of the tasks of the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In connection with the selection of candidates for deputies of the representative bodies, the CPSL Central Committee underlined that efforts are being made to ensure that their composition will be in line with the general structure of society.

BRIEFS

FILM COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA--A cooperation protocol for the 1981-83 period between the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian film industries was signed in Prague yesterday by J. Purs, director of Czechoslovak film, and N. Nenov, deputy chairman of the committee for culture and director general of Bulgarian cinematography. [Text] [Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Apr 81 p 3 AU]

CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING--A press conference held on 1 April by representatives of the Central Committee of SVAZARM, the CSSR Union for Cooperation with the Army, revealed that last year more than 800,000 citizens were trained by the lecturers and instructors of SVAZARM's civil defense sections. The topic was "collective protection in civil defense." A total of 50 percent of all participants were involved in training with protective masks, and 25 percent took part in a demonstration and lecture on the self-adaption of basement premises into shelters. This year's topic of instruction for employees (besides employees of united cooperative and state farms) will be "conduct and activity of plant personnel during an air raid alarm." [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 2 Apr 81 p 7 AU]

FDGB EXECUTIVE MEETS ON SED CONGRESS; TISCH SPEAKS

Report on Meeting

LD221320 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1142 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Apr (ADN)--The 10th FDGB Congress is to be held in Berlin from 21 to 24 April 1982. This was decided on Wednesday in Berlin by the FDGB National Executive at its 13th meeting at which the trade unionists discussed their contribution towards implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. It was also decided to hold elections for trade union leaders and executives from 2 November 1981 to 4 April 1982.

The trade unions fully support the economic strategy for the eighties adopted by the SED Congress, stressed Harry Tisch, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the FDBG Executive, in his report. "The close trusting relationship between the people and the party, the creative, industrious work of the workers and the utilization of the advantages of socialism guarantee that future tasks will be successfully mastered through greatly enhanced economic performance," Tisch said.

An important principle in striving for an increase in performance through socialist competition is: What is useful to society is also useful to the individual. "The FDGB can best represent the interests of its members by working with all its might to implement the party policy," Harry Tisch stated. The trade unions must more effectively accelerate the utilization of scientific-technological discoveries.

The trade unions should always exert their influence to secure the unity and interaction between increases in performance and improvements in the workers' working and living conditions, Tisch continued. With a view to the coming elections to the People's Chamber and Bezirk diets, he stressed: "We support the tested practice of socialist democracy to the best of our ability because at the same time it further consolidates the workers' and peasants' power." In our country, he said, democracy and political codetermination do not end at the factory gate; everything that affects the life of the people in the workers' and peasants' state is decided on and implemented by millions of people."

Tisch Interview

LD230904 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Interview given by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Executive, to Malte Splettstoesser on 22 April after the 13th meeting of the FDGB Executive--place not given]

[Text] [Tisch] Our members enthusiastically noted the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and expressed their desire to carry them out. The 10th congress decisions prove anew that we are continuing to carry out our main task despite complicated external political and economic conditions. The 5-year plan directive secures for our citizens, so to speak, a high material and cultural living standard. We propose to consolidate what we have achieved and to improve our lives step by step as much as we can. At the same time we shall strengthen and defend our state. That is worth every effort, every struggle. The GDR trade unions will give their best. The trade unions cannot take any other position under socialism.

[Question] Comrade Tisch: You said in your speech today that trade union activities in the socialist competitions are of crucial importance to raising our economic capacities and are manifested in the decisions taken by shop stewards during the party congress and afterwards. Why do you see this as the correct and successful way for trade union members to participate in socialism?

[Answer] You see, we have experience going back 35 years. As long as I can remember we have always acted on the principles formulated by Lenin. He advised us to treat the competitions as the creative initiative of the masses. Higher productivity achieved through these means will eventually be reflected in higher overall production in all fields. That is why socialist competitions are the chief area of trade union activity.

[Question] The 13th meeting of the FDGB Executive decided to hold the 10th FDGB Congress from 21 to 24 April 1982 in Berlin. There will be trade union elections. We may say that a period of intense activity is ahead in the trade unions, primarily for trade union officials. On what points will the FDGB, a mass organization, concentrate its work?

[Answer] The trade unions have, of course, specific tasks. I believe we must ask all officials, from the shop steward to the FDGB Executive, to work harder and raise the quality of their work. That means stimulating our members' activities, the innovators movement, holiday service, social insurance and the seemingly little things, such as improving commuter traffic and looking after workers. We are, after all, a pillar, a power instrument, so to speak, of our state. Our trade unions have a membership of 9 million out of 17 million inhabitants. It is a pleasure, I must say, to work in the trade unions. Today the unions influence everything from pins to computers and microelectronics. Their voice is heard. That shows the trade union influence as well as our will, our commitment and optimism to do everything to carry out the decisions of the 10th party congress for the good of our country and our people.

NAUMANN ADDRESSES MEETING OF PARTY ACTIVISTS

LD222218 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Party activists at Bezirk level met today in Berlin and Gers to evaluate the 10th SED Congress. The party activists were addressed by SED Politburo member Konrad Naumann and Central Committee member Herbert Ziegenhahn, who are SED bezirk first secretaries. The activities' meeting discussed conclusions arising for the work of the bezirk party organizations. The discussions reflected the many initiatives prompted by the congress resolutions for the continuation of the policy for the people's well-being and the safeguarding of peace.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REVIEWS 10TH SED CONGRESS

AU221435 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Apr 81 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Source of Strength and Compass for Our Further Advance; the 10th Party Congress--Militant Program of the Whole People for the 1980's"]

[Text] The 10th SED Congress has initiated a new phase in the GDR's development. With the unanimously adopted report of the Central Committee to the 10th SED Congress submitted by Erich Honecker, our party's general secretary, the highest forum of the communists has mapped out the militant goals of the leading social force in our socialist fatherland for further shaping the developed socialist society in the 1980's. With the decisions and materials of the party congress, the report by Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph, the directive on the 5-year plan for the development of the GDR economy 1981-85 and the other documents, but especially the great wealth of experience presented by the delegates in the great discussion, we are continuing our general line to the benefit of the people and for safeguarding peace under the conditions of this decade.

Our advance will include the entire society in its full breadth. All sectors of the socialist system have been equipped by the 10th party congress with an exact compass for the current historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes.

The further implementation of the main task occupies a central place in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. The unity of economic and social policy consistently determines our actions. The delegates responded with stormy applause when Erich Honecker declared in the Central Committee report: "Therefore the Central Committee proposes to the 10th SED Congress that it also continue the policy of the main task in the 1980's." Our party will continue to make every effort to secure the material and cultural living standard of the people, and to gradually develop it.

This party line has to date demonstrated to millions of people that good work which strengthens socialism is also worthwhile for the individual citizen and his family. The people know that there is the mainspring of their purposeful life, their social security, their confidence in the future. The material strength of the state, fed from the same spring, lends weight to its policy of peace and of anti-imperialist solidarity in the international arena. Consequently the policy of the main task is regarded by GDR citizens as a central and pivotal point that guarantees further progress, both for the individual and for the whole community.

Public opinion in our republic is most impressively reflected in the initiatives that became known while the 10th party congress was still underway. In the discussion it was aptly stated that the people endorse the party's policy by their achievements. Everywhere in the GDR they have now immediately begun to implement by deeds the decisions of the 10th party congress.

The inspiring manifestation of the FDJ, the call emanating from there for a nationwide performance comparison among the youth brigades, the decision of the trade union aktiv and the shop stewards in the big combines, the Carl Zeiss Jena combine, the "Fritz Heckert" machine tools combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt, the "Walter Ulbricht" Leuna works, the Schwedt petrochemical combine, and in other enterprises show that the working people identify themselves with the ninth party congress decisions.

They have placed their actions under the motto: "High performance increase through growing labor productivity, effectiveness and quality--everything for the benefit of the people and for peace." Their new projects in socialist competition aim at overfulfilling the 1981 economic plan by 3 days' production, essentially with the same raw material, material and energy input. Thus they want to further strengthen the foundation for the entire 5-year plan, for the unity of economic and social policy.

Erich Honecker has formulated and substantiated the SED's economic strategy in 10 points. This constitutes one of the outstanding scientific-theoretical accomplishments of our party in our time. Here it becomes evident that the party reacts in good time and thoroughly to new, complicated conditions, that it analyzes them together with the working people, and that it draws far-reaching conclusions from them. With their competition targets the requirements of economic strategy will now be applied by the working people to the concrete situation of their enterprises and combines.

The competition initiatives are a vigorous continuation of the people's movement that preceded the party congress, the greatest in GDR history so far. This shows how firmly the idea is rooted in the people which was concisely expressed by a delegate when he said: "Of course we must work. Nothing comes from nothing." Yes, only through diligent and creative work is social wealth produced. "He who contributes most, is to reap the greatest benefit." This is how Erich Honecker characterized the performance principle as a basic characteristic of our society, which stimulates a creative, competitive spirit.

Great attention was paid by the Central Committee report and the party congress discussion to the further development of a rich intellectual-cultural life in socialism--for example to the tasks of science, university and technical schools, and of popular education, especially regarding the communist education of youth--and to the arts and literature.

This is in line with the nature of the main task which is aimed at raising the material and intellectual-cultural living standard. That is also closely correlated with the requirements of the ideological class war which is exacerbating as a result of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism. The party's ideological work is aimed at more and more effectively bringing out the superiority of socialism in this class confrontation. More than ever, party work centers on equipping all working people with the militant position that is required by the tasks of today and tomorrow.

It is and will remain a main concern of our party to specifically shape the progress-promoting and humanist nature of science in such a way that it can better and better contribute to consolidating the GDR's economic strength and to raising the working people's living standard. The key points here include the promotion of basic research as a stimulation for new findings about the law-governed interconnections in nature and society, and the integration of science and production, especially in the form of cooperative relations with the combines.

Our universities and technical schools have been assigned the task of still more effectively ensuring that socialism has graduates who, equipped with the latest scientific knowledge and with practical know-how and skills, are familiar with the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and who with party-mindedness and personal involvement, actively work for the universal strengthening of socialism.

The 10th party congress has set the task of fully exploiting all possibilities of popular education to achieve a high-level education of youth which is closely linked with practical life and which is effective in life, to achieve the development of young people's creative thinking and behavior, their class-consistent position and their politically conscious actions. In close cooperation with the combines, enterprises and scientific institutions the young people must be trained to master modern science and technology and apply it, in line with the nature of the socialist social system, for the benefit of man. The cooperation of the FDJ and of the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneer organization is indispensable for the entire education work with youth.

The 10th party congress has confirmed the continuity and the great fertility of the SED's cultural policy. At the same time it has further defined the role and task of the arts in socialism. In our society, the arts play an indispensable and irreplaceable part. Over 30 years of the GDR have proved that literature and the arts have never been able to develop as freely on German soil as in our socialist GDR.

Partymindedness, affinity with the people and a content of socialist ideas, the party congress underscored, are and will remain the criteria by which the value of a work of art will be primarily judged. Proceeding from this position, literature and the arts are making an important contribution to shaping socialist awareness and developing the creative energy of the working people. Here the meaning of the phrase "artistic responsibility in and for socialism" applies in its full sense. Culture and the arts thus live up to the constantly growing cultural needs of the builders of socialism. The same goes for the artistic mastery of the struggles of our era as well as for developing the progressive heritage and for imparting anything valuable from international culture.

The repeated expression of the unity of party and youth at the party congress was deeply impressive and moving. It was evidenced by the large number of delegates wearing the blue FDG shirts, as well as by the powerful FDJ manifestation and the greeting extended to the party congress by the Thaelmann pioneers. Primarily it was reflected in the many contributions of young comrades in the discussion. There were passionate pledges to fill the 10th congress decisions with all the energy of youth. At the party congress the truth was confirmed that socialism needs youth and the young generation nees socialism, because it complies with the ideals and the current and long-term expectations of youth.

The great achievements of FDJ members in work for socialism, in protecting the socialist fatherland and in displaying anti-imperialist solidarity was highly praised at the party congress. "Never before has a state on German soil been able to be as proud of its youth as we can be here in our GDR," the Central Committee report states. The balance sheet of successes presented at the 10th party congress reflected how the FDJ has stood its test on all fronts of the class struggle, as reliable helper and faithful militant reserve of the party. That is why it was emphatically declared at the party congress: We will continue to remain faithful to the principle of placing full trust in our youth, and of consigning to it a high responsibility. Here our special attention is devoted to the workers youth.

This also involves an important responsibility for every member of our party. As revolutionary vanguard of the young generation the FDJ needs the support of us all in communist education. "Nothing can be closer to a communist's heart than to inspire young people for our lofty goals," said Erich Honecker. "We expect from every comrade--beginning with the education of his own children--that he passes on his experiences of life to the youth and that he contributes toward strengthening the revolutionary unity of the generations."

The broad response evoked by the 10th party congress both in our country and abroad has made clear that only socialism is capable of solving the vital problems of the people, of its working people. Even such Western mass media whose task it is to defend the capitalist system these days were unable to conceal the fact that the SED's, the GDR's policy is distinguished by continuity, stability, its dynamics, and great productive power in the fields of the economy, culture and social policy.

As you know, the picture presented by the capitalist world today is in striking contrast to that. It is marked by crises, economic stagnation, and fear of unemployment. In the NATO countries, primarily the United States and the FRG, the armament budgets are being more and more inflated at the expense of the working masses, while social expenditures are subjected to drastic cuts. There millions are already out of work, and for other millions the prospect of unemployment looms large. The dismantling of the "social accomplishments" of the working people is unavoidable, the people will have to tighten their belts--these Cassandra warnings by prophets of capital have long since become facts overshadowing everyday life under capitalism.

The development of our republic is completely different. The balance and the prospects submitted by the 10th party congress again reveals: The strength of a revolutionary workers class party is able to move mountains, if its policy is guided by the demands of life and is at the same time unshakably rooted in our Marxist-Leninist ideology. The 1980's will confront us with tasks of unparalleled dimensions both nationally and internationally. "We are prepared to accept the challenges of this decade," Erich Honecker said. This is the communists' militant position. In accordance with the legacy of our Ernst Thaelmann, we have established communism in the country where Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were born, and have resolutely advanced on the path toward a communist future. We have been, are and will remain on the historic offensive.

Our confidence that we can master all the challenges of our time rests on a solid base. The unshakable fraternal aliance with the Soviet Union and the firm roots of the GDR in the community of socialist countries are the stable foundation for the security and growth of the socialist achievements of our republic.

The speech of Mikhail Suslov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, who conveyed the fraternal greetings of the Soviet communists, the entire Soviet people and its leading representative, Leonid Brezhnev, turned into a demonstration of the inseparable community of our parties, states and peoples. The growing interlinking of our economies, and the more and more effective pooling of our potentials, for which the 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress opened new avenues, make our advance on the path into the future quicker and more secure. "They strengthen the common potential of real socialism," Erich Honecker said. "In view of the aggravating conditions of the international class struggle, this becomes all the more important."

The socialist community has passed the tests of the class struggle and the struggles against imperialism, and has successfully solved many problems which life has posed. In this connection, Erich Honecker confirmed the fraternal solidarity with the Polish communists and with all patriots of Poland, who support defending and strengthening socialism in their country against all the machinations of counterrevolutionary forces. He underlined the declaration of the Polish comrades at the Moscow meeting in December 1980 that the Polish People's Republic has been, is and will remain socialist.

What matters is to secure and consolidate peace. This was particularly stressed at the 10th SED Congress. This humanist leitmotiv permeates all aspects of our party's policy. This was also reflected in the consultations of the party congress from the first to the last hour. The Central Committee report again states--and the discussion of the delegates gave numerous, impressive examples--that peace and socialism are of an identical nature.

The party congress stressed that in the second half of the seventies it was again possible to maintain peace. The GDR has actively contributed to this most urgent problem of mankind by prudently living up to its international responsibility at the borderline between socialism and imperialism and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It has stood its test as a reliable cornerstone of peace in Europe.

In view of the imperialist confrontation policy, our peace concept combines constructive steps toward strengthening international security with all that is necessary for the military defense of our socialist fatherland. Today, the peace proposals of Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress are opening up the greatest chances for the process of detente, which imperialism wants to stop. Erich Honecker has reaffirmed the unrestricted support of the GDR for this comprehensive initiative, with the approval of the whole party congress. The peace forces which increasingly support it throughout the world will, at any time, have a firm and militant ally in the GDR. The implementation of the Soviet peace initiative would result not only in a temporary but in a thorough and long-term improvement of the world situation. Thus peace could be lastingly stabilized.

Our relations with the GDR are also guided by maintaining and strengthening peace. The party congress stressed that normal relations between the GDR and FRG are important for the overall situation in Europe. As far as the FRG is concerned, the words and actions on its part create a contradictory impression. "What matters in politics between the two German states," Erich Honecker said, "is not to indulge in all-German phrases, nor should there be attempts to dodge in political discussion the fact that two German states exist, which long ago have confirmed each other as subjects of international law. It is not only in the GDR's national interest, but also in the national interest of the FRG to draw the necessary conclusion from that in practical politics and, as far as the FRG is concerned, to dissociate itself from the assumption of seeking to speak 'for all Germans.'" The relations between the two German states are also influenced by the international situation. But they can also contribute to favorably influencing the international situation, through measures concerning questions such as arms control, disarmament, in short any measures designed to complement political detente by military detente. The proposal of the strongest socialist power, the USSR, is on the negotiating table. This proposal is supported by the GDR and all other allies of the Soviet Union. He who does not want to negotiate--this was clearly expressed at the 10th party congress--comes under the suspicion of wanting to shoot. In the interest of mankind we are for negotiations and for maintaining the military-strategic balance at a lower level.

At the 10th party congress, the revolutionary mainstreams were strongly represented by the presence of 125 delegations from communist and workers parties, national-revolutionary parties and organizations and socialist and social democratic parties of all continents. This made it a platform of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity with the fighters for peace, progress, freedom and independence.

The speeches of the delegation heads at the party congress plenum, and at meetings with working people in the enterprises, were a unique exchange of experiences of the revolutionary forces and the international class struggle. They demonstrated the far-reaching revolutionary changes which are going on in the world. However, they also revealed the toughness of the conflicts over the vital questions of mankind. As Erich Honecker stressed in his inspiring closing speech, it has once again been confirmed that socialism decisively influences the course of world history and that the future, too, belongs to socialism.

The delegations expressed admiration and respect for and firm affinity with the SED and the entire GDR people, for having built a prosperous, dynamically developing socialist society in a historically short time. We have only one answer to this: By strengthening our socialist state, by our constructive foreign policy of peace and by our active anti-imperialist solidarity we will justify the opinion of the peoples: "It is fortunate for mankind that a country like the GDR exists on German soil."

In future people will speak of the spirit and energy of the 10th congress. What attitudes are linked with them? Above all they are characterized by the Central Committee report delivered by Erich Honecker. In this Marxist-Leninist document, the permeation of science in the most recent development trends and a dialectical-creative approach to today's phenomena in the world are combined with great emotional strength.

The reports' profound analysis of the experiences and successes of socialism and of the revolutionary processes in our own country and in the world arena is the basis of our communist self-assurance. The Central Committee report endows us with social farsightedness, with the capacity to soberly evaluate the demands of our time with an appropriate zest for achievement. The precise specification of all essential aims for every stage of our further advance, and of the planned use of our potentials and means calculated on that basis, reflect our historic optimism and our confidence in the future.

The spirit of the 10th party congress is marked by the great discussion of the delegates. The common denominator of its diversity, its numerous problems, its depth of thought, its closeness to life and its originality is the orientation toward the best standards. The participants in the discussion, each in his own way and resorting to his own experiences, explained the nature of a comrade's responsibility and the contributions required to implement the leading role of the party.

The unshakable unity and cohesion of our militant alliance also formed the spirit of the 10th party congress. It made itself felt in every single moment during the consultations in the Palace of the Republic. It was expressed in unalterable loyalty to our communist principles and ideals. At the conclusion, it manifested itself in the unanimous election of the Central Committee, the general secretary and the Politburo. The enthusiastic reaction of the delegates to the reelection of Erich Honecker at the head of the leadership collective of our party reflected the deep gratitude for and confidence in the communist who in a unique way personifies the content, continuity, steadfastness and successes of the policy which has so greatly benefitted all working people of the GDR, and which has gained worldwide recognition and respect for our worker-peasant state as a firm link of the socialist community.

The delegates have returned to their home towns, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, universities and schools, and to their units--wherever they live and work. They bring the guidance of the party congress decisions, its treasure of experiences and its wealth of theory to their collectives.

Now the phase of intensively studying the party congress documents has started. What matters now is analysing and creatively applying the ideas and conclusions that the Central Committee report and the other party congress materials provide for social practice. The party organizations and leaderships will achieve the greatest effect for a higher quality of their work if they combine the evaluation with a comprehensive review of their own work and an exact assessment of their potentials, and if they redetermine their militant aims in accordance with that.

In the 35 years since the union of the KPD and SPD, the SED has turned into the most successful party in the history of the German workers movement. Since then, the elementary political truth has been confirmed again and again on German soil that the workers class can only fulfill its historic mission to build a new society under the leadership of the purposeful, united Marxist-Leninist militant party which is closely linked with the masses. The 10th party congress is completely in line with the continuity of this 35-year development. At the same time, it is the climax of this development to date. Its spirit and results substantiate the statements of Erich Honecker, which are a result [facit] of history, achievement and the role of the SED. "Our party has emerged from the people and is there for the people. The entire work of the party--as laid down in the party program and confirmed in practice--is devoted to serving the well-being and happiness of the people, to leading the way with firm steps for the millions of builders of the new society, purposefully and setting an example. Therein lies the fulfillment of the meaning of the struggle and life of the communists."

IRAQI COMMUNIST'S ADDRESS TO SED CONGRESS

AU221430 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Apr 81 p 8

[Address of Amir 'Abdallah, member of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, at the 10th SED Congress in Berlin on 16 April]

[Excerpt] The Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean regions testify to an unparalleled concentration of American armed forces and extraordinary activity in establishing and expanding military bases in accordance with a plan agreed upon with the rulers in Israel, Egypt, Somalia, Oman and other reactionary regimes. All this is accompanied by open threats to establish domination over the oil sources and the oil supply lines and escalate conspiracy in order to regain imperialist predominance over this region. Also linked with that is exacerbating anti-communism, increasingly suppressing the democratic liberties and rights of the people's masses, opposing revolutionary changes in the region, starting a large-scale slander campaign against the Soviet Union and falsifying the movement of the nonaligned by circulating the pseudothesis of two superpowers.

One of the most dangerous phenomenona of this course is to incite undermining the struggle union of the Arab peoples and conjure up armed conflicts among the peoples of this region. The Iraq-Iran war is an eloquent example of this. This war is a true national catastrophe which has done great damage to the economy and resources of the two countries and has inflicted enormous loss of life and material on the two countries. For this reason the progressive forces in Iraq and in the other Arab countries are supporting the initiative of Comrade Brezhnev to guarantee security and stability in the Gulf region and to secure the sovereignty of the states and peoples of that region over their wealth and their resources.

SYRIAN AMBASSADOR GIVES RECEPTION IN BERLIN

AU221355 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Apr 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Monday in Berlin, Huza'i Malli, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Syrian Arab Republic to the GDR, gave a reception on the occasion of the national holiday of the Syrian Arab Republic. The invitation was honored by Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Ernst Goldenbaum, GDR State Council deputy chairman; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; as well as by other GDR public figures. Also present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR.

VISIT TO BERLIN BY FRG'S GERHARD SCHROEDER REPORTED

LD222208 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Apr (ADN)--Gerhard Schroeder, member of the FRG's Bundestag and former chairman of the SPD's Young Socialist group, visited the GDR 20-22 April as guest of the FDJ Central Council. Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo briefed Gerhard Schroeder on the results of the 10th SED Congress, stressing in particular that the SED's policy for the good of the people and of peace has the full support of the people of the GDR and its youth.

The two sides emphasized that there is no sensible alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence on the basis of equality. The policy of confrontation and striving for military superiority must be rejected. It is therefore in the interests of both German states to take a stand for the continuation of the process of detente. All possibilities must be seized to contribute to the safeguarding of peace. Only that which serves peace is of advantage to the people in both German states. Gerhard Schroeder stressed the urgency of negotiating immediately, without preconditions, on medium-range missiles in Europe. Gerhard Schroeder and Egon Krenz expressed the hope that commonsense and goodwill will prevail and that arms limitation and disarmament will be achieved by means of negotiations.

During his stay in the GDR, Gerhard Schroeder also had talks with members of the SED Central Committee Herbert Haeber and Wolfgang Herger. At the Institute of International Politics and Economics, Gerhard Schroeder had an exchange of views on current questions concerning the continuation of the process of detente. In the GDR capital, Berlin, the Bundestag deputy was acquainted with the implementation of the GDR's housing construction program.

The talks proceeded in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

RAIL FARES BETWEEN BLOC COUNTRIES TO INCREASE

LD221012 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0205 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Apr (ADN)—As from 1 May 1981, the fares for railway traffic with the socialist countries will be increased by 50 percent in accordance with a decision of the organization for cooperation between railways of socialist states. (OSSHD).

As a result, the fares for international rail travel on the socialist states' rail routes will change. Fares for domestic travel on routes of the German Reichsbahn will remain unchanged.

GOVERNMENT PROTESTS FRG AIRSPACE VIOLATION

AU211810 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Apr 81 p 14

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)--On 15 April 1981, an FRG airplane with license plate D-3645 violated GDR airspace in Magdeburg Bezirk. It was forced to land on GDR territory.

After landing, the pilot of the airplane, FRG citizen Anette-Margarete Kaufmann, was brought to the GDR organs in charge in order to clear up the causes leading to the airspace violation. It is only thanks to the reasonable action of the forces in charge of protecting GDR airspace that no serious consequences resulted from this violation.

The permanent representation of the GDR in the FRG resolutely protested in the FRG Federal Chancellory against this renewed violation of GDR airspace which is against international law, and expressed its hope that the FRG organs in charge will undertake effective steps to exclude violations of GDR airspace in future.

SOLIDARITY SEES ITSELF AS MAIN FORCE FOR 'RENEWAL'

AU221352 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Apr 81 p 2

[Ferenc Varnai article: "Clear Formulation"]

[Text] When the Solidarity trade union was registered in Poland last year, the rationale of the founders--one they have repeated many times since--was as follows: Solidarity intends to operate in defense of the workers' neglected social interests, on the basis of respecting the socialist social order, the constitution and the PZPR's leading role, as a trade union and not as a political party.

However, the following is included in Solidarity's draft program reviewed by the Polish press a few days ago: "Solidarity is the main guarantee for the process of renewal. There is no other social force in Poland which could replace it in this function.... What will happen is either that Solidarity will transform its own (social) environment, or that the existing system will force on us its own norms and objectives, paralyze our efforts and, ultimately, divert us from our path and end our hopes of a resurrection. There is no turning back on the path we have chosen."

There is no doubt: This is a clear formulation. it is entirely obvious that those who formulated this are of the opinion that Solidarity regards itself and only itself as the leading force, the paramount instrument of a "renewal" that "transforms its environment." The draft contains only hints, which range from "Christian ethical principles" to "equal scope for the development...of various proprietary rights of the means of production," about what this transformation would be like. What does not emerge from it is only what norms and objectives are regarded as socialist by the authors of the draft. To be sure, the fact that they reject the social order of People's Poland seems obvious from the way in which they treat the issue of the renewal of the system: either Solidarity, or the "existing system," which--allegedly--would end "the hope of a resurrection."

This is set forth even more clearly by another conclusion of the draft: "It is important to select strike issues; areas should be struck that are the most sensitive for the state employer and the least sensitive for the people." Thus, the main enemy to be weakened is the socialist Polish state. Is this meant to be the partnership assumed with the government? Is this meant to be the responsibility assumed jointly with the state for the fate of the country, which is in a catastrophic position, and the Polish nation? is this meant to be the patriotism supposed to serve the people of the country, which, before long, will be threatened by anarchy and famine?

All this only substantiates the report made at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum which said about the dangerous trends arising in Solidarity: "This is no longer bringing pressure to bear on power, but an open struggle against our party and state power, against socialism. It is already a struggle for power."

We can only agree with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski who said in a speech at the Sejm a week ago: "There are persons and groups, extremist and dangerous forces entertaining boundless political ambitions, in and around Solidarity. They feel best in an atmosphere of conflict, because, in the turmoil of a conflict, they endeavor to strengthen their position, dismantle authority and position themselves so as to be able to seize power."

Solidarity's draft program proves this more clearly than anything else. And it warns, at the same time, more persistently than anything else, of the great need for a close and active unity of all socialist, democratic and patriotic forces.

SFRY'S DOLANC HOLDS TALKS ON ECONOMY, DEPARTS

AU211858 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Apr 81 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Hungarian-Yugoslav Economic Discussions Conclude"]

[Text] The negotiations between Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and chairman of the National Planning Office, and Zvone Oragan, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, ended in Budapest on Thursday. They discussed economic relations between the two countries and prospects for a long-term development of cooperation.

The sides reviewed the status of joint ventures in production in machine building, the chemical industry, synthetic fertilizer production, the timber and wood pulp industry, agriculture and the food industry. They agreed that extensive measures will be implemented toward a complete fulfillment of these highly significant joint venture agreements in both countries.

In connection with possibilities for a long-term development of Hungarian-Yugoslav economic cooperation, the sides concluded that, in addition to the existing joint venture agreements, there is cooperation potential primarily in energetics, in research into and the production of raw and basic materials, certain progressive sectors of the processing industry and foodstuff management. They regard as necessary further specific measures in the transportation and communications area, mainly in order to develop river and sea transportation. They agreed on future tasks concerning third-market cooperation.

They exchanged views about the two countries' objectives pertaining to medium and long-term economic development. They informed each other about the position of planning, economic regulations and the direction of the people's economies, and the directions of their development. They agreed to strengthen contacts between planning organs.

Zvone Dragan visited the Scientific Institute for World Economy, where he exchanged views about the current and future position of the world economy with Academy Member Jozsef Bognar, director of the institute. He visited the Raba Hungarian freight car and machine factory, where Director General Ede Horvath briefed him about factory development plans and the position and prospects of cooperation between the Raba and Dinara plants.

Zvone Dragan and his party departed Budapest in the late evening hours. At the Eastern railroad station, Lajos Faluvegi bade farewell to the guests. Milan Veres, Yugoslav ambassador in Budapest, was also present.

DEFENSE MINISTER CZINEGE LEAVES FOR VISIT TO LIBYA

LD211740 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 21 Apr (MTI)--Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungarian minister of defence, left for an official, friendly visit to Libya at the invitation of Brigadier General Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander-in-chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces.

TU DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM

LD201442 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 81

[Text] A Hungarian trade union delegation has left for the Netherlands and Belgium. The delegation, which is led by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, is to discuss the position of the trade unions, the development of activities for representation of interests and the right of workers to participate in economic decisionmaking.

ANGOLAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION ENDS VISIT, DEPARTS

LD190103 Budapest MTI in English 1024 GMT 18 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 17 Apr (MTI)--The delegation of the Angolan people's defence organization headed by Deputy Defence Minister Paiva Domingos da Silva, member of the MPLA Labour Party Central Committee and chief commander of the organization, left Hungary on Friday at the end of its visit here at the invitation of Sandor Borbely, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and national commander of the Hungarian workers' militia. The national command of the Hungarian workers' militia and the Angolan delegation reached an agreement to further develop their organizations' cooperation and friendship-at-arms in the spirit of solidarity.

LAZAR RECEIVES DELEGATION OF JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN

LD212342 Budapest MTI in English 1656 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 21 Apr (MTI)--Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, received on Tuesday in the parliament building the delegation of Japanese businessmen currently in Hungary under the leadership of Kazuo Iwata, president of the Japanese Toshiba company and of the Hungarian-Japanese economic club. Also present at the meeting was Odon Kallos, co-president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, and Shinichi Sugihara, ambassador of Japan to Hungary.

BENIN PARTY DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT

LD222234 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 22 Apr 81

[TExt] Budapest, 22 Apr (MTI)--The delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, led by Azodogbehou Codjo Francois, member of the party's Central Committee and minister of rural development and cooperatives action, arrived in Budapest on Wednesday at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

U.S. 'ANTI-DETENTE' POSITION AT CSCE TALKS SCORED

LD221120 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 Apr (MTI)--The meeting on European security and cooperation has been going on since last autumn in the Spanish capital. Delegations of 33 European and two North American states are busy surveying the hitherto course of implementing the Helsinki Final Act and marking out future tasks. 'What certificate will be granted to the Madrid meeting?' asks the commentator of MAGYAR NEMZET in his Wednesday article entitled 'Madrid Weather'.

He points out that the East-West relations have deteriorated during the six years since the signing ceremony took place in Helsinki, and the tensions can be felt also at this conference. 'Madrid is not independent of the outside world,' says the commentator. 'The Western tone has generally sharpened towards the socialist countries, and mainly towards the Soviet Union--as is the case here too. The anti-detente line of the new U.S. administration is apparent at this forum as well.

'Theoretically, the high intentions born in 1975 called for this conference to define future political, economic, scientific, cultural and humanitarian measures aimed at promoting the common work of the European countries. But--and this is where we come across the reality which not only hinders continued international detente but has also brought the chilling trend--the atmosphere of mutual distrust due to military reasons blocks any further progress. This is why the plan of the European conference on military detente and disarmament has become a key issue in Madrid.' (...)

'The aim of the conference on military detente would be to increase the level of mutual confidence and to lead later to the limitation of European armaments.'

The commentator further says that now again emerges the corner point of East-West relations and the disputes: balance and mutuality. 'The same question was mentioned also in the report of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: the Soviet Union is ready to extend the territorial boundary of confidence-building measures to the Ural Mountains, provided the Westerners make a similar gesture. The answer was negative.'

'It is clear in Madrid: For the time being, the majority of Westerners seeks not what links. They do not try to find and put on paper what is already acceptable. One dominant viewpoint in their manifestations is the attempt to discredit the socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, in the eyes of the world public opinion, causing thereby a grave damage to the cause of Europe.

'Brighter colours also mix into the dark picture. In Madrid, as elsewhere too, the West Europeans are more ready for compromise than the Americans.' says the commentator, adding in conclusion that the latest draft of the neutrals is a welcome initiative, a move to the good direction.

LEADERS TOUR COUNTIES, ATTEND PARTY MEETINGS

Losonczi in Baranya County

LD222158 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Excerpt] Pal Losonczi has begun his visit in Baranya County. Our correspondent, Peter Kovacs, reports:

The president of the Presidential Council arrived in Pecs this morning at 1000. He was met by party and state leaders of Baranya, led by Janos Lukacs, first secretary of Baranya County party committee, and Lajos Horvath, chairman of the county council. They briefed Pal Losonczi on the achievements and tasks of Baranya, and accompanied the head of state on a tour of the Pecs leather factory. Pal Losonczi visited this factory 13 years ago.

In the afternoon, the president of the Presidential Council visited the newest part of Pecs, the (Siklos) District. A training center is being built in this rapidly expanding and young city district, and it was the next stop of Pal Losonczi's visit. After visiting the training center, Pal Losonczi was conducted to the Pecs skyscraper.

Lazar in Gyor-Sopron County

LD222210 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] The head of government, Gyorgy Lazar, has paid a visit to Gyor-Sopron County in Transdanubia. (Sandor Forgacs) has sent a brief report on this visit:

The line of cars stopped in front of the headquarters of the county party committee about 1 hour ago. The chairman of the Council of Ministers was greeted by Bela Hary, first secretary [of the MSZMP committee in Gyor-Sopron County], and Ferenc Lombos, chairman of the country council. Then they informed Gyorgy Lazar about the situation in Gyor-Sopron County, its economic results and questions which preoccupy the inhabitants here to the greatest extent.

The evening program of the head of government is a visit to the theater. The performance of "The Moment of Truth" by the Gyor ballet will be watched. Tomorrow morning Comrade Lazar will take part in a session of the county party committee; he will then visit some farms.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM CONFIRMED FOR 29 APR

LD221752 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] The party Central Committee Politburo has decided to convene the 10th Central Committee Plenum on 29 April. Its subject will be the tasks of the party before the ninth extraordinary congress.

The plenum will examine the drafts for the program precepts for the ninth congress of the party, as well as amendments and supplements to the PZPR statute.

KANIA, JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI ATTEND ZSMP CONGRESS

LD230922 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Leslaw Nowak report from Congress Hall in the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw--live]

[Text] The Third Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] started its plenary debate 1 hour ago. In the hall are the delegates as well as guests of the congress representing other youth organizations operating in rural areas, among students and among boy scouts.

Also among the congress guests are representatives of the highest party and state authorities: Stanislaw Kania, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Henryk Jablonski, and leaders of political parties.

After the welcome the floor was taken by ZSMP Central Board Chairman Andrzej Koltek. He dealt with questions of the 1970's and conditions under which the youth organizations are working. He spoke about groping in the dark and about the making of errors. But he said that youth was everywhere and that its activeness resulted from good faith in actions undertaken.

The chairman of the ZSMP Central Board also spoke about the tasks of the organization. He underlined its political independence, its striving for the self-education of the young generation and for the settlement of its problems, in particular those concerning young people from rural areas. He spoke about cooperation with the party, the trade union movement and other youth organizations. He spoke about the exigences set by the organization to its activists.

After the report introducing the debate, the floor was taken by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. His speech is in progress.

ZSMP Chairman, Kania Speak

LD231042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Text] The deliberations of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] began today in Warsaw.

Welcomed by applause from the more than 1,600 delegates representing the more than 2 million ZSMP members, Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Stanislaw Gucwa and Edward Kowalczyk arrived for the deliberations.

Present are representatives of the trade union NSZZ Solidarity and the branch unions, of youth organizations, and representatives of embassies.

The deliberations were opened by Andrzej Szarawarski, ZSMP activist from Katowice.

The report indicating the fruits of the precongress discussion was read by chairman of the main board, Andrzej Koltek.

He stressed the significance of the August breakthrough last year in the life of young people, who felt the mistakes of the past period painfully, and justified the need to settle accounts with those to blame for the tragic situation. He devoted much attention to the part of young people in the process of renewal. He gave the assurance that the ZSMP, as the body speaking for the interests of the young generation and the organization leading the fight for its rights, speaks for the forces of the left fighting for socialism and social justice. He also defined the stand of young people of the town and countryside on their work and study, and the life of the young family.

Next to speak was Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who greeted the delegates on behalf of the party, the ZSL and the SD, and also the authorities of People's Poland and forces joined together in the National Unity Front. He expressed the conviction that the current precongress discussion would not lack the voices of the young generation, which was playing an important role in shaping the country's political and economic situation. Many demands by the young generation [word indistinct] correct. However, young people must simply be aware of the current realities; hence an essential discussion will show the priorities of the demands made by them.

A discussion then commenced.

Report on Kania Speech

LD231028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Text] The Third Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] has been in progress for 2 hours. After the introductory paper read by Andrzej Koltek, chairman of the ZSMP Central Board, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor. He conveyed greetings to those present and pointed out that the congress is being held at a very special time for the country, when it is necessary to answer the question: What can we do to bring about lasting calm and stabilization, a period of striving and not one of violent conflicts threatening national tragedy? We are faced, continued Stanislaw Kania, by the common task of ensuring a calm and secure national existence for Poland.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee spoke at length about the role of the young generation in the resolving of national problems and discussed the need for a strong youth organization which represents the true interests of the young generation. He assured his listeners of the party's support for those activities of young organizations which are designed to improve the situation of the young.

Stanislaw Kania's speech was followed by a discussion during which several delegates took the floor. The speeches were very sharp and uncompromising, such as had not been heard at previous ZSMP congresses. Small wonder that the hall reacted with great animation to and interrupted with applause those statements that appealed to it.

Now I would like to mention a very interesting and pleasant ceremony which we witnessed in this hall a half an hour ago. This happened after the speech by Stanislaw Kania. It was announced from the congress rostrum that Premier Wojciech Jarujzelski would be given flowers by the participants in the congress. A delegation presented the premier with a bunch of tulips and daffodils. Everybody rose to render him loud and wholehearted ovation which lasted several minutes. Those present sang "let him live 100 years." The premier took the flowers and distributed them among those near to him. Today, simply, is Wojciech Jaruzelski's name-day.

WALESA, WALENTYNOWICZ ON DIFFERENCES ON STRIKE CALL

LD231023 Paris PARIS MATCH in French 17 Apr 81 pp 57-58

[Patrick Forestier interviews with Solidarity's Lech Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz: "Anna Versus Walesa: Passion Versus Patience"--date and place of interviews not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Walesa challenged. In a letter written from his hospital bed, Jan Rulewski, the Solidarity official beaten up by the militia at Bydgoszcz, accuses him of being softened by his permanent relations with the authorities. After the cancellation of the order for a general strike the other week, Lech Walesa's authority has been called into question. This hardline current has found a figurehead in Anna Walentynowicz. This little slip of a woman, 51 years old, is the incarnation of the Polish renewal. She knew Lech Walesa in 1978, when he was trying to sketch out the first free trade unions. A real "pasionaria," capable of haranguing crowds for hours on end, she has been in prison several times. It was because she had just been dismissed after 30 years of factory work that the 10,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk stopped work on 14 August. And the great movement was launched. Anna knows that the workers remain faithful to Walesa. For PARIS MATCH, Anna, the woman who said no to Walesa, talks of the need to go further. Walesa replies. Patrick Forestier met them both.

She says: "Walesa Should Have Voted for a General Strike"

PARIS MATCH: Do you still hold your post within Solidarity?

Anna Walentynowicz: Yes, I was briefly expelled from the MKZ (Interfactory Founding Committee) in Gdansk, but the decision was revoked.

PARIS MATCH: You were in favor of a general strike?

Anna Walentynowicz: Yes. It was necessary for the tension hanging over the whole of Polish society to have a concrete outlet. Unfortunately, we failed. That is what I said at the KKP (Solidarity's National Consultative Commission) conference. The matter of our activists who were beaten up in Bydgoszcz is very serious. We held an initial 4-hour general strike as a warning, without going on to the second, indefinite strike. That is rather like getting out a revolver without being able to shoot.

PARIS MATCH: You appeared to be in disagreement with Walesa?

Anna Walentynowicz: I was very agitated. Walesa was calmer. Also, my attitude was interpreted wrongly. Speaking your mind sometimes is not always very well received.

PARIS MATCH: What did you do during the period of preparation for the general strike?

Anna Walentynowicz: Like my comrades, I was preparing to evacuate the offices of the Gdansk Interfactory Committee so as to move into the shipyards. We were waiting until the last minute to move out, because the building is well situated and communications are much easier from there.

PARIS MATCH: Did you make speeches inside the Lenin Shipyards?

Anna Walentynowicz: No. I only went to the yards on Tuesday, the day the strike was called off. I wanted to get the workers' views so as to report to the National Commission.

PARIS MATCH: What happened?

Anna Walentynowica: I maintained that I was in favor of a general strike. I asked people who was for and who was against. Some of them kept quiet. I presume they were the ones who were for the strike. They did not dare say so.

The previous evening, Walesa announced on television that he was 70-percent satisfied. They thought that 70 percent of the claims had been satisfied. It is not the same thing at all. It was as a result of the worker's reaction that I was temporarily expelled from the Gdansk Interfactory Committee. That decision should be regarded as a bad April fool joke....

PARIS MATCH: Are there differences between you and Walesa?

Anna Walentynowicz: No. There were only differences between me and the workers at the shipyards. I explained to the workers that I was for a general strike. Those who were against it displayed their reactions very strongly. They believed there were differences between me and Walesa because he was against the general strike too.

PARIS MATCH: Do you regard the decisions taken by Walesa as democratic?

Anna Walentynowicz: Not entirely. The rule in our movement is to build up a structure from the base. When we negotiate with the government we always have postulates that are well defined and have been well studied with the workers. The case of Bydgoszcz is exceptional. During the negotiations, the Warsaw Pact maneuvers were under way. Hence the tremendous pressure on us.... We had to act quickly, because the general climate was very strained.

PARIS MATCH: Do you not have the impression that Walesa yielded as a result of a bluff?

Anna Walentynowicz: Yes. That is why I had a tougher attitude. Solidarity has lost prestige and strength over this affair. The government now knows our weak point. But I think events took place in that way because of the very serious tension hanging over the nation. By not calling for a general strike, not only did we gain nothing we lost a great deal. The regime has grown tougher at our expense.

PARIS MATCH: In what way?

Anna Walentynowicz: From now on, it will not take our claims seriously. The government will no longer respect us. Also, it will be very difficult to persuade people to strike again. Without the threat of strike action, the government will not negotiate. Today, we are like a discharged battery.

PARIS MATCH: But would not a general strike have provoked a Soviet invasion?

Anna Walentynowicz: I do not think there would have been an invasion. As Jacek Kuron, founder of the KOR (Workers' Self-Defense Committee), says, they would not have intervened during the strike, with all forces mobilized, but before. Workers who are communist party activists have given us much support.

Let us not forget that....

PARIS MATCH: Do you dispute Walesa's authority?

Anna Walentynowicz: No, not at all. We sometimes have different opinions. But he is the best man to lead Solidarity. I could never do what Walesa does. He is very important, and people believe in him. But that does not mean that I cannot express my views. Walesa and I are almost members of the same family; I was at the christening of Magda, his little girl; I am her godmother.

PARIS MATCH: Do you negotiate with the authorities differently from Walesa?

Anna Walentynowicz: Last August, we were reaching agreement among ourselves in each instance and then talking. In the latest negotiations it was different. After the beating up in Bydgoszcz, he found himself facing the government commission alone. He did not have time to discuss things, and nobody foresaw that the conflict would become so important.

PARIS MATCH: Do you want elections within Solidarity as soon as possible?

Anna Walentynowicz: I would like them to be held as quickly as possible. But it seems difficult before the end of April.

PARIS MATCH: What did you feel when the Gdansk workers challenged you?

Anna Walentynowicz: Even if they had thrown me out, I would not have considered it serious. And even if I went to prison today, I would have no regrets. I would feel that I had done something.

PARIS MATCH: Are you conscious of being a "Passionaria" in your country?

Anna Walentynowicz: Life made it happen that way. Many people have been dismissed without such a fuss being made. I worked in the shipyards for 30 years without giving grounds for any complaints. I was close to retirement when I was dismissed. They chose a bad time to fire me, because the workers regarded that action as a great injustice. Moreover the KOR had stepped up its action and strengthened the provision of information at that time. People were reading the clandestine newspapers a great deal and knew what was happening. That is why I acted as the detonator last August. When I was fired the shipyard workers said "no."

PARIS MATCH: What are your plans?

Anna Walentynowicz: I will continue to devote myself to the trade union struggle within Solidarity. But above all I intend to defend the cause of political prisoners.

He Says: "If There Had Been a General Strike, We Would Have Lost Everything"

PARIS MATCH: Do you think that you conducted the latest negotiations for the best?

Lech Walesa: It is our greatest victory to date. The greatest success since the August negotiations. It is not only the claims which have been signed that are most important, but the events which took place during that period. Moreover, we know today who is at the heart of Solidarity.

PARIS MATCH: Do you regard it as a success not to have ordered a general strike?

Lech Walesa: With a general strike, it is the people who pay. If there had been a strike, we would have lost. The economy would have been completely destroyed. Before a general strike, we must use every other possible means of resolving problems.

PARIS MATCH: Was it because of the Soviet military threat that the general strike did not take place?

Lech Walesa: A general strike could cost the Polish people dear. By avoiding an invasion we avoid bloodshed in Poland for certain.

PARIS MATCH: Some of your comrades have accused you of taking decisions alone. Are you going to change your way of leading Solidarity?

Lech Walesa: No, I will continue to lead the trade union as before. I will only try to improve certain things. There is no single majority force in the trade union forcing me to change my way of acting. I am completely in favor of democracy, and nobody can accuse me of not acting democratically. For 14 hours, during the negotiations, I asked if I was acting democratically, and nobody answered.

PARIS MATCH: What is your reply to your comrades who accuse you of coming to terms with the authorities?

Lech Walesa: I have to talk to the government. If I am not to talk with representatives of the authorities, with whom can I negotiate our claims?

PARIS MATCH: Why have several Solidarity officials threatened to resign?

Lech Walesa: They are tired. But above all, they have forgotten that they are fighters. It is they whom I regard as not very democratic. Polls carried out in all strata of the population show that 91 percent of people are on my side. I could show you all the telexes and telegrams I have received from all over Poland congratulating me on my decisions. If an enterprise is hostile, I only have to explain my program and the workers rally round. Anna Walentynowicz has experienced it. However, she and I are two symbols for Polish workers. She, perhaps even more so because she is a woman. But in front of the shipyard workers she made an attack from behind on my position as regards the general strike. Well, 97 people out of 100 were on my side in the enterprise where she worked for 30 years. She made a mistake which must be forgotten. Everyone should forgive her, and I will be the first to defend her. The affair was a good lesson for her. She will realize that she should stay with me.

PARIS MATCH: And if she refuses?

Lech Walesa: That is up to her. It is not easy to shift an "immovable object." There are no great differences between us. She has been a great activist for the opposition. She always wants to run a lot of risks and that takes a lot of courage. But you also have to know how to think things over.

PARIS MATCH: What is your reply when a Solidarity official accuses you of being a "dictator" at the head of the trade union?

Lech Walesa: Let them produce just one piece of evidence. I am tough, that is true. When I talk, people could sometimes think that I am like a dictator. But I never take a decision alone. Always with the collective; I sometimes have to take small decisions alone. If you think that democracy is 100 people all talking at the same time in the same room, I do not agree.

PARIS MATCH: Your advisers are often criticized; are you going to change their role?

Lech Walesa: The advisers are essential. During negotiations I must have them near me. I listen to them, but I do not accept everything they say. I do not always act democratically, but the result is always democratic. Imagine the deputy premier facing 100 people in a room. We want a raise of Z100. The deputy premier grants Z99. Do I have to go back to Gdansk to ask for authorization to accept or reject his reply? That is the kind of thing they are accusing me of. There are points I have to settle myself, in a meeting. Before negotiating, I always have limits which I must not cross. But I always obtain more results than are predicted. I always choose experts for a particular problem. Mazowiecki and Celinski are my best experts. But I never listen to them 100 percent. Until now I have always chosen their best advice.

PARIS MATCH: Will you remain at the head of Solidarity?

Lech Walesa: When I think the time has come, I will leave. But nobody will tell me to go. In the next elections I will, if I wish, stay chairman of the Gdansk MKS [Interfactory Strike Committee] and chairman of the KKP. But I have not thought about it yet.

PARIS MATCH: Do you not feel obliged, sometimes, to handle First Secretary Kania and Premier Jaruzelski carefully so as to prevent the party's collapse and Soviet intervention in the country?

Lech Walesa: That is not the problem. I just have negotiations to conduct so as to obtain a result to our claims. I do not know in advance what I want or what I will be able to obtain When the negotiating becomes too complicated, I ask for a break and I think it over. But I have a great deal of intuition. I act quickly so as not to lose the advantage over the opponent.

PARIS MATCH: Do you still want to come to France?

Lech Walesa: Yes, certainly. When I was a little boy I wanted to go to France. I wanted to buy a bus, fit it out for living in, and set off on the road stopping wherever I felt like looking at the scenery.

PARIS MATCH: When do you intend to come?

Lech Walesa: I cannot say exactly. I never decide in advance. I am the kind of man who acts on the spur of the moment.

SEJM, PRIVATE FARMERS' COMMISSION OFFICIALS MEET

LD221740 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Deputy Jan Szczepanski, chairman of the Sejm extraordinary committee for the control of the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements, has met representatives of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers commission for the implementation of the Rzeszow-Ustrzyki agreement.

The members of the commission presented him with details on the state of the implementation of the agreement, with particular reference to areas where implementation is meeting obstacles or is subject to delays. These matters include the disposition of the agricultural development fund and the making of decisions without the participation of the union's representatives, especially with regard to the increase of procurement prices, the rationing system or the [word indistinct] tax.

Deputy Szczepanski, speaking on behalf of the Sejm committee, assured those present that it will adopt the necessary measures designed to consistently implement the signed agreements.

RURAL TU OFFICIAL ON DRAFT AGRICULTURAL LAW

LD221502 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Apr (PAP)--Gabriel Janowski, press spokesman of the All-Poland Founding Committee of the "Solidarnosc" Independent Self-Governed Trade Union of Private Farmers, today commented in the UPP daily DZIENNIK LUDOWY on problems connected with a Sejm draft law on agricultural self-government and a social draft on self-governed organizations of private farmers, recommended for public discussion by the "Solidarnosc" union.

Replying to the evaluation of the draft given by Boleslaw Struzek, chairman of the Sejm agriculture committee, in DZIENNIK LUDOWY on April 16, Janowski said:

"It is difficult to agree with the opinion suggesting that our draft postulates a privileged and in a way overriding role of the trade union vis-a-vis other agricultural organizations. The fact is that we regard the farmers' trade unions as a type of agricultural organization. Supremacy of these unions over other organizations was never intended as, indeed, subordination of "Solidarnosc" to other organizations is out of the question. What we have in mind is partnership, provided the rights and independence is mutually respected. Our postulate to register the farmers' trade unions on the same terms and using the same procedure which applies for registration of workers' trade unions cannot be regarded as a request for privileges. Our only consideration is that all trade unions be treated equally. This matter has been settled according to our intentions being envisaged in points one and three of the Bydgoszcz agreement of 17 April 1981."

"But we do approve of Prof Struzek's suggestion for representatives of our union, after its registration, to join in the completion of the draft law which would take into account the social project. This problem is defined in the Bydgoszcz agreement. We insist on the principle of full equality.

"This calls for a roundtable discussion on the draft attended by all the sides concerned, exactly as it applies to the drafting of the trade unions law. This is why a thorough analysis of and discussion on both drafts is necessary."

COMMENTARY ON CHANGES IN TEACHING HISTORY

LD230225 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The following topic has been relegated to the far reaches of mass media interest, although it certainly does not deserve such treatment. This is the teaching of history in primary and secondary schools. More precisely, it concerns negotiations on this matter carried out between representatives of the Polish National Society [PTH] alongside teachers belonging to Solidarity, and representatives of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

Certainly there have been more important matters lately apart from these negotiations, [word indistinct] negotiations in March and April. But the teachers' initiative deserve more than a laconic note by the press. Much has been said, as we have been informed at a special conference organized by the PTH concerning the crisis of education in Poland, about conceptions for its improvement, the de-dogmatization of school textbooks and an increase in the authority and autonomy of teachers. An important theme is the so-called break, or caesura, in the teaching of history. At what date should history textbooks end?

Solidarity representatives and the PTH state that instruction in history ought to extend up to 1970. Representatives of the ministry had no opinion on this. There also has been criticism of the particular language employed in textbooks, chiefly manifesting itself in the use of imprecise descriptions of historical events. [Words indistinct] participant concentrated for the moment on more immediate matters--that is, on proposals for changes which can be introduced into teaching in the 1981-82 school year.

Above all, there has been a demand for increasing the independence of teachers. In following the themes and principles of the program they should have a free choice of teaching methods. It was also suggested that in the programs of schools after the primary school age there should be presentation of controversial areas of historiography; fewer ready-made formulas and more food for thought and reflection for the pupils. These are just some of the problems broached by the teachers of history. They, and other matters, will be the subject of broad discussion at the national conference on teaching history in schools, which will be held in a few days in Zakopane.

SOLIDARITY 'THESES', PROGRAM LINE PUBLISHED 14 APR

AU220921 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 14 Apr 81 pp 3,4

["NSZZ Solidarity's Lines of Action in the Country's Present Situation--Theses for Discussion"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THIS IS A PRODUCT OF THE CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND TRADE UNION PROBLEMS RUN BY THE NATIONAL CONSULATATIVE COMMISSION [KKP] OF THE NSZZ SOLIDARITY. THE MATERIAL WAS INITIALLY DISCUSSED AT THE 25 FEBRUARY SESSION OF THE KKP AND EXAMINED AND ADOPTED FOR DISCUSSION BY THE CENTER'S PROGRAMMATIC-CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL.

1. Basic Values

Our trade union was set up just 6 months ago as a result of the workers' struggle backed up by the entire country. Today we are a great social force totaling many millions of members. Thanks to that, the entire labor world in Poland is at last able to take dignified and effective action for the sake of its common causes.

We were born of the protest against wrongs, humiliation and injustice. We are an independent, self-governing trade union of the working people from all regions and all trades. We defend the rights, dignity and interests of the entire labor world.

We want to shape life in our country in keeping with the ideals of patriotism, social justice and civic democracy. As a trade union we do not intend to take over the tasks of the state apparatus of power. What we want to do is to represent the working people's interests before that apparatus, and that is why we will defend the rights of man, citizen and worker. At the same time, we shirk no responsibility for our nation's and state's fates.

1. THE NATION'S BEST TRADITIONS, CHRISTIANITY'S ETHICAL PRINCIPLES, DEMOCRACY'S POLITICAL MANDATE, AND SOCIALIST SOCIAL THOUGHT--these are the four main sources of our inspiration.

We are deeply attached to the heritage of the entire Polish culture, which is merged with European culture and has strong links with Catholicism, but which welds various religious and philosophical traditions. The ties with the generations of Poles who fought for national freedom and social justice and who handed over to us traditions of tolerance, brotherhood and civic responsibility for the republic and of equality before the law are alive in us. That is why there is room among us for everyone regardless of his world outlook, nationality or political convictions.

2. The idea of people associating in work imparts great importance to the values produced by common activity. Those values are represented by SOLIDARITY--a term that we have adopted as the name of our trade union--and by GOOD-FELLOWSHIP AND ABILITY TO MAKE SACRIFICES and to do everything for the trade union community and for wider social interests. THE IDEA OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S BROTHERHOOD in their common front against exploitation, no matter what slogans act to disguise such exploitation, should also be such a value.

3. Defending the working people, which is our basic trade union task, is based on the principle of observing SOCIAL JUSTICE. We will seek to ensure that this principle is the basis of the activity of the state and its institutions and offices, and that it governs all solutions relating to social policy and to the organization of communal life.

We base social justice on the principle of the natural DIGNITY OF THE PERSON OF MAN, OF THE WORKINGMAN AND OF HIS TOIL. It is our wish that the principle of man's dignity permeates our trade union's entire life and will be a foundation on which relations in the new society are built.

The principle of social justice and of man's dignity makes it obvious that in their most essential nature ALL PEOPLE ARE EQUAL. That is why we will seek SOCIAL EGALITARIANISM.

We recognize the principle that one should be paid according to the quality, quantity, difficulty and risk of one's work ("TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK") and we will seek to level off unjustified disproportions in that regard. However, THE PRINCIPLE OF MEETING THE SOCIAL MINIMUM HAS PRECEDENCE OVER THE AFOREMENTIONED PRINCIPLE. Meeting the social minimum means satisfying not only the elementary needs in food, clothing and housing, but also all those social and cultural needs that make it possible to lead a dignified life in order to develop one's personality. Fighting for just wages for work, we will require ourselves to be honest in professional work and to observe the high ethics of performance, reliability and effective work results. Shoddy work, turning out defective products and common "trash" detract from the dignity of worker and harm society.

The principle of equality makes it obvious that total DEMOCRACY must be observed in public life. Only under a truly democratic system will we be able to effectively fight for our trade union and worker interests. Only under such a system will it be possible to fulfill the principle of genuine PARTICIPATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL AND PUBLIC LIFE. That is why we will seek to expand the forms of social participation in public decisions and in control of the authorities' activities.

4. Our trade union activity calls for observing the CIVIL LIBERTIES recorded in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, liberties such as THE RIGHT TO PROFESS ONE'S OWN VIEWS, FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRINTED WORD, THE RIGHTS TO HONEST INFORMATION, TO ASSEMBLIES AND TO FREE ASSOCIATIONS. We will defend people who are subjected to repression for those liberties and we will regard such repression as a violation of the rule of law. For those reasons we will also demand the elimination of curbs on the right to form associations, of curbs that stem from censorship and especially of those that are not connected with overriding public interests, but result from manipulation in order to defend the current interests of the governing teams.

5. Our trade union observes the TRADITIONS OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT and invigorates the features of those traditions that strengthen our ideals of social justice, democracy, freedom and independence. We will enrich those traditions with the memories of the 1956 actions taken by the Poznan workers and with the bloody sacrifices of the workers in the coastal areas in 1970 and of the Radom and Ursus workers in 1976.

MAY DAY is a special symbol. We must impart a new meaning and a new form to May Day because it is our day--the day of the working people and not of the state employer. We will make it a day without dividing those who stand on the dais and those who march: It will be a festive meeting of equal working people in solidarity.

6. We recognize NATIONAL VALUES as a valuable and vital part of our collective awareness and we take the view that the Poles' patriotism is an irreplaceable platform for social integration and generosity for the sake of the fatherland. We take the view that national values form the basic bond of our society in the contemporary world and constitute the final justification of our independence and sovereignty. The social protest in the form of a strike last summer was also directed against efforts to eliminate our national values from our social awareness. That protest is one of the sources of our union.

7. Our trade union is an ORGANIZATION OF PLURALITY OF WORLD OUTLOOKS and is open to believers of any color and to nonbelievers. Nevertheless, an overwhelming majority of our union--like the majority of our nation--have been brought up in the Christian religion. CHRISTIAN INSPIRATION has been one of the foundations of the ideological values that are included in our program. The cross hanging side by side with the white eagle in many trade union rooms reminds our members of their moral origins and fills them with faith in the justice of our cause. We will continue that stream of inspiration, while never giving up the lay nature of our organization.

II. Basic Sources of Crisis

We must all overcome together the economic crisis that is threatening us with catastrophe. We should bear in mind, however, that we will not be able to overcome it if we fail to uncover and eliminate its political-social causes. The disappearance of democratic institutions and the associated profound division between society and the apparatus of power within the present system of public life are at the bottom of that crisis. Also erroneous doctrinal concepts and decisions concerning, inter alia, agriculture (the ultimate elimination of individual peasant property) and the priority given capital goods industries were responsible for the crisis. They went hand in hand with disdain for the sectors of the economy that meet the needs of the population and with the practice by which the state apparatus took over cooperatives and small private enterprises.

1. The dominant feature of that system is the LACK OF DEMOCRATIC MECHANISMS FOR DECISION-MAKING, THE LACK OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECISIONS AND FOR REPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE IN LEADING POSITIONS. Decisions concerning the entire community are made by party and administrative organs that are exempted from social control. Such decisions are not preceded by free discussions, which might produce various alternative solutions to problems at hand. There is a lack of room for the views of independent experts and a lack of access to the necessary information about the state of the country and economy. That means that society is excluded from the process of decisionmaking. Decisions are made by this or that echelon of bureaucracy.

2. BUREAUCRATIC METHODS OF GOVERNMENT MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CORRECT ERRORS. Even hinting at the catastrophic results of erroneous decisions is often impossible. It is made impossible primarily through censorship and through the extensive principle of state, economic and official secrecy. It is also made impossible by the entire system, which is organized on the principle of combating all attempts to work out alternative programs or independent analyses and evaluations. That blockade applies not only to political and social issues but also to economic and even technical issues. Such a practice causes us losses amounting to billions and billions of zlotys.

3. The bureaucratic system of state government and economic management has helped ESTABLISH A CLOSED GROUP OF GOVERNORS WHO ARE NOT SUBJECTED TO THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNED. The people in the apparatus of power make decisions from the viewpoint of their personal interests, material privileges and advancement rather than from the viewpoint of social interests. The erroneous investment decisions (building the Katowice steel combine, for example), and foreign loans often going to waste have frequently been results of the efforts of interest groups supporting or combating each other within the apparatus of power. In 1976-79 economic bureaucracy to a great extent frustrated the measures that might have prevented the crisis. As a rule, the bureaucratic apparatus was against all the changes and reforms that could undermine its position, income and influence.

4. All that has been responsible for the fact that Poland has had no opportunity to carry out socioeconomic reforms and to save us from crisis. THE EXISTING POLITICAL SYSTEM HAS BEEN UNABLE AND HAS NOT HAD THE STRENGTH TO REPAIR ITSELF BY ITSELF. Only a severe economic crisis, the outbreak of social protest and the establishment of Solidarity have paved the way to reform and renewal.

That poses an important conclusion: that economic reform in Poland will not be successful and will not produce the hoped-for economic results if it does not go hand in hand with a deep reform of the system of government in order to eliminate the causes of the crisis rooted in the sociopolitical system and to create the guarantees that the old system will not return.

III. Economic Issues

1. Solidarity's Attitude Toward Recurring Economic Crises

Our country's deep economic crisis is being demonstrated primarily by the enormous, increasing disproportion between the supply of goods and services and demand. The crisis is affecting all spheres of the economy. It has not come into being in the past few months and past few years: It has developed gradually for decades. It is a crisis caused by a deep degeneration of the production apparatus, which is unable to meet demand insofar as the quantity and range of goods are concerned. The crisis bears directly on society's living standards, on working conditions and on the working people's real wages. While the crisis is intensifying, the working people's low wages are losing their real value.

The crisis of the Polish People's Republic's economy concerns the structure of its economic policy and its system. In addition, unfavorable economic conditions have also been a factor.

A) Defects in the economic structure are the direct reason for difficulties:

The structural nature of the crisis is expressed by the constant and increasing disproportion between the part of the economy that caters to the people's needs and the part that is concerned with expanding the means of production. That is because an excessive part of the country's economic potential is used to produce the machines and installations that produce new machines and installations, but the production of consumer goods is a secondary sector in that production structure. In particular, agriculture, which is a sector meeting the people's basic needs and employing one-quarter of the populace, has been relegated to an inferior position within the national economy. It is obvious that an economy with such a structure is unable to ensure even moderate standards for the working masses.

B) Permanent defects of economic policy:

The structural disproportions of the economy are results of a long-term economic policy conducted in a voluntaristic way by a narrow group of people from institutions, who are not subject to social control. In addition, the concentration of decisions in the main centers of command, the lack of cost accounting and the price chaos have made any social control impossible. Such a state of affairs amounts to total economic arbitrariness and irresponsibility. As a result, economically harmful decisions were made and gigantic investments were initiated without the necessary justification and without providing the necessary conditions (transportation, energy, cooperation). Under that voluntaristic policy, private farmers were subjected to particular discrimination: It was made especially difficult for them to obtain capital goods and the necessary prices. Attempts have been made to compensate for the ineffectiveness of the system and economic policy by contracting larger and larger foreign loans. Capitalist bankers were supposed to finance the economic incompetence of the centrally planned state economy. But loans have to be repaid together with interest, which is possible only if the economy functions effectively. Thus such a mode of compensation could not be used for long. On the contrary, it became an additional factor in the breakdown of the economy. The end results of that method of compensation are an enormous debt of over $24 billion, not counting short-term loans, and a further prospect of more debts. The country must find more money to replay the interest and the loans than it earns through exports. That means that all our imports have to be paid for by additional loans, which it is increasingly more difficult to obtain. Besides, the conditions stipulated by the foreign banks (the interest rate and the payment deadlines) are becoming worse and worse. The simple fact is that we have been adjudged bankrupt and are being treated accordingly.

In such a situation it is impossible to guarantee for our economy the adequate imports of goods from the West. That is why we are restricting the import of raw and other materials and even of spare parts and that is what primarily determines the fact that our economy's production capacity is not being fully exploited.

C) Systemic factors:

The most profound reasons for the present crisis are systemic in nature. All economic decisionmaking has been monopolized by the main centers of command, which have kept issuing orders to individual enterprises: What they have to produce and how much and how. This is called RUNNING THE ECONOMY THROUGH A COMMAND AND DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM. In such a situation the enterprises have no freedom to fix production programs and to choose production methods, which means that it is useless for many enterprises to practice cost accounting. Nor do central planners practice cost accounting because they lack the necessary information in the form of correct prices. Such a situation is made worse by the enterprises' effort to boost outlays to the maximum extent because they are interested in implementing their plans in terms of value, which is done inter alia by increasing costs. Finally, the increasing concentration of decisionmaking has been responsible for the total failure to exploit the motivation factors applying to individuals and teams. All that together has brought about large-scale waste of human labor and of material resources. It is enough to say that we have to use far more raw materials, energy, transportation and labor to product a unit of national income than is the case in the French or West German economies.

D) Casual factors:

Certain unfavorable factors have also affected our country in the past few years, such as the poor harvest in 1980, for example. However, when evaluating that manifestation we must bear in mind that every economy must be ready for the results of bad economic contingencies and must have something in hand in order to withstand their influence and not to break down. But if it breaks down under the impact of temporary unfavorable circumstances, then it does so not because of objective reasons, but because the economic system is defective, the economic policy is bad and the economic structure is highly unbalanced. As a result of the operation of all those factors, the economy of the Polish People's Republic is functioning badly. A result of that has been and is the decreasing rate of increase in the national income and a violent drop in that income in the past 2 years. That is why the country is experiencing a serious crisis which threatens a total breakdown of the national economy.

2. Solidarity's Attitude Toward Economic Reform

A) Support for reform is conditional to its success:

The preceding analysis shows that the present economic system does not satisfy social and economic needs. A profound reform of the system that will eliminate the sources of the constantly recurring tensions is the only way to permanently overcome the crisis and to take our economy to the road of balanced development. Our trade union fully supports the issue of economic reform because it takes the view that such a reform is in the interest of all our trade union members and of all our people.

Our support for reform must be expressed inter alia by extensive discussions of its principles and by clearly defining its lines, forms and aims. By defining through discussion on the desirable shape of the reform, we will make it impossible for it to become shallow and distorted. However, Solidarity will not propose its own draft reform because it takes the view that the ultimate shape of the reform can be defined by discussing the already existing drafts. All the same, it is possible to ask whether Solidarity should more actively commit itself to preparing and implementing the reform. For example, it could work out its own draft solutions to key issues.

The economic reform should be a result of free and public discussions by specialists and should be implemented by the state apparatus of power which is in control of the national economy as a whole. ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR TRADE UNION'S TASK IS TO SEE THAT THE REFORM ULTIMATELY LEADS TO IMPROVING THE WORKING PEOPLE'S SITUATION.

That is why our union will support those aspects of the economic reform that are consistent with the principles of equitable social policy and provide the best opportunities for permanent and not merely temporary improvements in the country's economic situation. Defining the conditions that must be fulfilled during implementation of the reform, we realize that it is necessary at times to sacrifice temporary interests in favor of long-term and genuine improvements. We can assume such a risk only if all decisions on the reform are coordinated with us and all our people, if we are presented with the complete calculations of the losses and gains resulting from the individual solutions and if the basic principles of the state's social policy are harmonized with us and are observed.

B) The nature of expected changes:

The economic reform should give new shape to the structure and functioning of the central planning done by the main centers of command, socialized enterprises and the other elements of the economic system.

Central planning should be deprived of its directive and command characteristics, which means that it must not transfer its tasks to enterprises by means of commands and prohibitions. Tasks for enterprises should be defined with the help of economic instructions (such as prices, taxes and so on).

BY THEIR NATURE CENTRAL PLANS SHOULD BE STRATEGIC, AND NOT OPERATIONAL, and should cover periods of several years. Central plan targets determining directions of economic development should be fixed by means of socialized planning. The participation of the public in the process of planning and in control over it should be ensured by open decisions and discussions in the Sejm, self-government bodies, and public and trade union organizations. The main development trends in the rate of economic growth, the division of the national income into investments and consumption, including the basic directions in social consumption should be subject to control. Public control should also ensure the protection of independent socialized enterprises and family-run farms from restrictions ordered by economic and public administration. Intermediate links between enterprises and the central economic leadership, such as branch ministries and associations, should, to a significant degree, be abolished.

SOCIALIZED ENTERPRISES SHOULD BE GRANTED INDEPENDENCE in the sphere of adopting a production program and of determining production methods.

In this connection the central distribution of raw materials and other means of production should be restricted and eventually [docelowo] eliminated. The activity of the enterprise should be based on self-financing, that is on meeting one's own expenses with one's own income. Enterprises should be evaluated not for their plan fulfillment but for their economic results. An enterprise should be able to dispose of its profits freely, including allocating them for investments, and particularly for the rational maintenance of its installations. The way in which an enterprise functions, its degree of independence and the way public management operates in it depend on the scale and nature of the enterprise. To enable an enterprise to work properly under the new system, the monopoly on the market should be abolished and producers should be permitted, to some degree, to compete.

Changes in the system of prices will constitute a serious dilemma for Solidarity. These changes will be necessary for enterprises to operate efficiently but it may prove to be difficult to change retail prices. Changes in retail prices call for compensations in wages and for convincing the entire trade union and general public of the need for such changes. This point requires wide discussion.

UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM, EQUAL LEGAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONDITIONS MUST BE PROVIDED FOR VARIOUS FORMS OF OWNING PRODUCTION MEANS. Enterprises in national, cooperative, communal, individual or family ownership should be treated equally in the field of marketing prices, supplies, the cadre and tax policy. In particular, the development of family private farms and family handicraft and service enterprises should be freed from all restrictions.

The consistent implementation of the program for feeding the nation by the efforts of Polish agriculture is among the most important tasks confronting the country. The basic elements of such a program must be: full respect for private farmers' right to own land and significant improvements in supplying private farms with farm machines, tools, mineral fertilizers and other articles necessary to intensify farm production.

The functioning of such a planned and market economy will bring to the surface certain social problems on which our trade union must assume a clear position. The trade union admits that ENTERPRISES WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT in line with their needs, but the state authorities will continue to be responsible for pursuing the policy of full employment. It will no longer be possible to charge enterprises with that policy, but an appropriate central fund will be needed to provide workplaces and funds to cover the cost of requalifying and moving persons from industry and administration to other economic branches and trades. The self-financing of enterprises may also result in some of them shrinking or closing. In such cases the trade union will demand that the interests of the collectives of such enterprises be insured in advance.

THE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF COLLECTIVES IN ENTERPRISE PROFITS MAY INCREASE DIFFERENCES IN THE INCOMES OF PERSONS employed at various enterprises. That issue must also be discussed in our trade union. The far-reaching independence of enterprises and the economy based on the market system may cause economic and social difficulties (increased prices, difficulties in employment and so forth). Thus the reform in its progress must be carefully monitored and the irregularities that arise must be eliminated.

The independence of socialized enterprises makes it possible and even necessary to ESTABLISH AUTHENTIC WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT. Our trade union considers that the formation of workers' self-governing bodies in socialized enterprises is an indispensable element of the economic reform. Self-governing bodies in an enterprise should have powers enabling them to effectively control the enterprise activity and thus should have the right to manage the enterprise property, should draw up the lines of production and sales, the methods of production and the lines of investments. They should also have a decisive say in the division of the enterprise profits. Detailed solutions may depend, among other things, on the size and specific features of enterprises. The participation of workers' self-governing bodies is particularly necessary in the appointment and dismissal of directors (appointment, advising or offering the job for competition). The problem of workers' self-government should be broadly discussed in the trade union.

Our trade union will provide a social hinterland for workers' self-government and will fully support it. But the COMPETENCES OF SELF-GOVERNING BODIES AND OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ENTERPRISE MUST BE CLEARLY SEPARATED on the assumption that the trade union defends primarily the interests of employees on the payroll, while the self-governing body represents and bears responsibility for the production and economic interests of the enterprise. The self-governing body must consult the trade union organizations in all questions concerning the division of the enterprise profit and the collective.

THE TRADE UNION CONSIDERS THAT THE ECONOMIC REFORM SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT AS RAPIDLY, COMPREHENSIVELY AND DEMOCRATICALLY AS POSSIBLE. In particular, we consider that the reform must not be postponed until our economy is fully stabilized. For that purpose it is necessary to rapidly provide a program for halting the declining trend in the economy. In order to set about the reform, it is also essential to restore the normal rhythm of work and to find margins for a businesslike cooperation in such fields as improving the economic position of the enterprise, finding the most suitable forms of self-government, combatting alcoholism and so forth.

3. The Trade Union and Social Policy Problems

There is a danger that in 1981 the situation of the population will deteriorate. In particular, the situation in foreign trade will continue to deteriorate. There are no guarantees that this year our country will obtain $10-11 billion of necessary additional credits, including $6-7 billion to repay the debts, $3-4 billion to pay the interest on the loans and $1 billion to pay for the current deficit. If we fail to obtain those credits, the decline in production will be very big and will directly affect consumption. The chances of increasing consumption by means of shifts in the division of the national income, that is, by reducing investments to increase consumption, are very limited, because it is no longer possible to cut unproductive investments in such fields as housing resources, health services or education.

There is a danger of the complete disorganization of the market and consumer goods. Compared with 1980, the population's cash incomes bill increase in 1981, while the supplies of manufactured goods will be inadequate. Also in agriculture the year 1981 cannot be favorable, because it will still be impossible to restore the number of livestock reduced in 1980. Thus the annual increase in the population's incomes will not be met with any increase in the supply of goods.

A. The Principle of State Responsibility for the Costs of the Crisis and of the Reforms

The trade union considers that the responsibility for the effects of the crisis and of the reforms introduced rests with the state, no matter if the economic reform carried out will makes enterprises really independent or what form that independence assumes. In practice, the state is the direct organizer of economic life in Poland. For that reason, notwithstanding the activity of various trade unions, public organizations and societies, it is precisely the state and its organs that has the duty to protect the population from the effects of the crisis, and the trade union will make the state organs accountable for that.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED TO PRESENT A PROGRAM FOR GETTING THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE CRISIS. THE 1981 PLAN, RECENTLY ADOPTED BY THE SEJM, SHUNS THE BASIC PROBLEMS. A plan for stabilization, promised long ago, is still unavailable. The general public and our trade union have still not received even a report on the state of the economy. That inactivity must result in a deepening of the crisis. The government should immediately present a program for getting the country out of the crisis and should make it subject to a nationwide discussion. In view of the passive attitude of the authorities, the trade union has been compelled to come forward with its own initiative. We do not intend to act as a substitute for the government. Our only intention is to indicate the basic lines for economic and social policy, lines essential from the point of view of the working people and at the same time decisive for many aspects of the country's economic situation.

Being aware that the country's economic situation is desperate indeed, THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION WILL ABSTAIN FROM FAR-REACHING WAGE AND SOCIAL DEMANDS IN 1981 provided that:

The principles of the government's economic policy are agreed with the trade union, particularly in the sphere in which the trade union is directly interested;

The government will consistently implement a program of reforms guaranteeing the moderately rapid and harmonious development of the economy (the general principles of those reforms will be outlined in the next chapter);

The government in its economic policy will actually, and not only declaratively, respect the principle of protecting the average level of the population's real incomes and will give priority to economically weaker groups.

B. The Principles of a Good Market

Seven months since the signing of the poststrike agreements, the working people are suffering mainly from the fatal and constantly deteriorating state of the market. The empty stores and storehouses put in question the wage increase we ourselves have won. The growing lines for commodities and the burgeoning black market are disorganizing the lives of our families. Under the present circumstances, it is necessary to increase the supplies of consumer goods to the market, and it must be done. However, it is not yet impossible to rapidly improve all food supplies. Under the present conditions, two optional versions of an immediate settlement should be taken into account and examined: one--admitting the possibility of extending the rationing system on the market, and two--firmly opposing the introduction and preservation of that system.

THE FIRST VERSION sees the need for a sound market and particularly for the profitability of agriculture. That calls for changes in procurement and retail prices. However, that option regards RATION COUPONS AS A NECESSARY EVIL. When the most essential commodities are very scarce, money cannot be the only factor regulating their distrubtion. Without ration books, it would be difficult to ensure minimum supplies of basic commodities, particularly to those earning less than the others. THE SECOND OPTION OPPOSES THE EXTENSION OF THE RATIONING SYSTEM to other articles and provides for the earliest possible abolition of the system, because the introduction of ration books results in unnecessary stockpiling in some households and in shortages in others, and it undermines the role of wages as an incentive for good work. According to that option, the application of the mechanism of prices would be much better than the rationing system and in any case that mechanism should be socially acceptable.

Both options should be subject to wide discussion.

C. The Principle of a Social Minimum

We demand that in 1981 the government fully implement all obligations assumed by it in the agreements with regard to wages and social affairs. In particular we expect the principle of a social minimum in the sphere of wages, pensions and disability payments to be introduced as soon as possible into the practice of structuring incomes, family allowances to be increased and maternity leave to be prolonged. On the other hand, we refrain from demanding new age regulations.

In particular, the COSTS OF THE REFORM MUST UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES BE BORNE BY THE LEAST PROSPEROUS CITIZENS of our country. It is necessary to specify the minimum needs of an average citizen, depending on his or her age and family conditions, and the appropriate social minimum should be controlled and modified depending on changes in the market supplies, in commodity prices and in the structure of consumption. The shortages must not be permitted to expand in the social sphere and the state should take pains to guarantee for all people in Poland the social minimum, irrespective of employment or involuntary unemployment

The state should also endeavor to assist financially and materially every person living below the social minimum. The trade union for its part will control both the level of the minimum and the criteria for fixing it, as well as the way the state implements the program for ensuring the social minimum for all citizens.

We are aware that even the implementation of this modest program will additionally increase the financial means of the population without increasing the market supplies. However, in our opinion, those decisions must be taken, because the material situation of the population groups who are in the most difficult situation can only improve as a result. While evaluating that demand, one must bear in mind that an additional improvement in the living standards of people at present living below the social minimum, the policy of increased family allowances and prolonged maternity leave, the policy of reviewing disability payments, rents and so on, even if they are significant, constitute only a small part of the sums of money possessed by the population and which are not matched by commodities. Refraining from that program would, therefore, only insignificantly improve the market balance but at the expense of people in the most difficult situation. Our trade union will never accept savings of that kind.

In order to properly apply the principle of a social minimum in practice, public opinion should adopt a position on it. The problem of a minimum implies the issue of a maximum. It is necessary to define an income level that must not be exceeded. In this connection we demand, among other things, the abrogation of the 1972 decree which, departing from general rules, provides for high pensions and allowances for privileged persons and their families.

D. The Principle That the Costs of the Crisis Be Shared Proportionally

Social justice requires that the costs of the crisis and of the necessary reforms be equally shared by all citizens, equally, that means in proportion to their prosperity. Poland is a country with significant differences in the incomes of individual social groups. For that reason the costs of the crisis should be borne by more prosperous people to a greater degree than by those earning less and should be appropriately taken into account in the system of increasing wages and taxes. No one, irrespective of the status possessed in the state, may be exempted from the effects of that principle and the implementation of that principle requires control on the part of the trade union and other public organizations. That must be discussed in detail in the light of the needs, aspirations and traditions of individual trade groups. The main point is that the application of that principle must not deprive highly qualified and selflessly working trade groups of the feeling of their own value and of the motives for increasing production efforts.

THE COSTS OF THE PROGRAMS FOR RESTORING THE EQUILIBRIUM SHOULD PRIMARILY BE BORNE BY THE MOST PROSPEROUS GROUPS, particularly by people enjoying privileges linked with the exertion of power. The trade union should advocate that line calmly but firmly, because in the seventies social inequalities increased markedly and privileges enjoyed by people exerting power expanded on an even larger scale. At the same time that is precisely the group of people responsible for the present state of our country. The preservation of privileges for representatives of the authorities is socially dangerous and under the existing circumstances also profoundly immoral. People exerting power, isolated by privileges from the realities of life of the rank and file citizens and alienated from society, are unable to see society's problems.

Therefore, taking into account the economic situation and the requirements of social justice, we should raise before the authorities the following demands:

To introduce the general duty to pay progressive compensatory taxes from total incomes exceeding per family capita the level of the average monthly wages;

To tax luxury objects (luxurious automobiles, recreation houses and so forth);

To restrict unjustified privileges possessed by the power apparatus (apartments, official automobiles, special health services and so forth), as well as to reveal the incomes and properties of persons with positions in the apparatus of power.

The proposed redistributive measures and the system of compensating the population's incomes for the population in the most difficult material situation will make it possible both to reduce those inequalities that the public does not accept and to finance the most essential social programs.

The trade union is aware that the market equilibrium must be restored gradually, but as rapidly as possible. We are also aware that that cannot be attained exclusively through incentives for increasing production and market supplies. Prices increases are also inevitable. But the increased prices may result in declining real wages. Under such circumstances the trade union has been confronted with the problem of adopting a position on that issue. Full compensation for the increased living costs, resulting from the rising prices, should apply to those earning the least, and at the same time those earning the most should obtain no compensation at all. However, in the case of the middle-bracket wage earners, constituting the majority, two possible settlements should be considered: Either the rising cost of living is to be compensated for PARTIALLY, thus improving the market equilibrium, or is to be compensated FULLY, thus causing the market situation to deteriorate and prolonging the end of the crisis. The two options should be widely discussed within the trade union.

The increase in the prices of luxury articles, tobacco and liquor should certainly not be compensated for. The problem of compensations for the rising prices should be settled comprehensively, in line with the appropriate article of the poststrike agreements. The system of those compensations should be agreed in detail with the trade union and be subject to a public discussion because the effect of the compensations and their public acceptability depend on the choice of the method of calculating and applying them.

E. The Universal Right To Work

The first difficulties on the labor market can already be felt and it is to be expected that, as the crisis phenomena are mounting, UNEMPLOYMENT MAY OCCUR IN SOME GROUPS OF PEOPLE. One must also take into account that, in the initial stage of the economic reforms, that problem will cause particular difficulty, requiring the trade union to cooperate closely with enterprise managements and the central economic authorities, since the problem of employment requires the division of tasks between enterprises and the central economic authorities. To be economically efficient, enterprises should have the right to change the level of employment in line with their needs and the CENTRAL AUTHORITIES BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FULL EMPLOYMENT OF ALL WORKERS they attain that through the active policy of providing new work places and through the public fund for meeting the costs of changing the qualification of and assistance to workers discharge by enterprises. At the same time it will be necessary to put into effect vocational retraining programs financed by the state and endorsed and controlled by the trade union.

At the same time it is important, and extremely difficult, TO PROVIDE APPROPRIATE JOBS FOR GRADUATES FROM ALL TYPES OF SCHOOLS. That calls for examining the qualifications of workers, for replacing those without the appropriate education, for operating shifts in a cautious manner, for ensuring a greater mobility of workers on a nationwide scale and so forth. The situation of young people graduating from higher schools is particularly difficult in the present year and will remain so in the near future.

The said activities may cause serious tensions and even social injustices. They should be considered and discussed in advance in individual vocational circles, depending on the acuteness of employment problems that may occur. The trade union should also take into account the need, or maybe even the necessity, for organizing within the scope of its competence a large-scale and long-term action for vocational retraining.

F. Improving Working Conditions

The economic reform endeavoring to make enterprises independent and to free them from the system of orders and directives, should proceed hand in hand with activity aimed at substantially improving the collectives' working conditions.

At present, a significant number of workforces are working under conditions which are onerous or harmful to health. Enterprises should be obligated to allocate a portion of the amortization fund and the enterprise development fund, specified by the workers' self-government, for improving working conditions: Minimum allocations for that purpose should be defined by law.

The sanitary control at enterprises has brought up numerous cases of disregarding norms for the protection of health (toxic agents, dust, noise, heat and so forth). In connection with that, we should demand that Poland ratify the 1977 ILO Convention No 148 on protecting employees from the dangers of air pollution, noise and vibration, and that Polish labor protection regulations be strictly adapted to the requirements of that convention.

The use of reductions in work time is an important factor in arranging the work of enterprises and the entire national economy in a proper way. It is a factor that may provide strong incentives for streamlining the organization of the enterprise and for productive work. We should demand that enterprise managements and the economic administration, within the framework of negotiations on implementing the second stage of reducing work time, outline a specific plan for organizational improvements and technical measures aimed at compensating for the reduced number of work hours.

IV. Guarantees for the Future

1. Legality

We consider as a matter of fundamental importance restoring full legality to relations between the authorities, on the one hand, and the public and citizen, on the other, in order to enhance self-government and openness in public life. Restored legality is indispensable for normal cooperation between Solidarity and the state power organs, for overcoming the present political and economic crisis in Poland.

Legality means that THE LAW SHOULD EXPRESS THE INTERESTS AND WILL OF SOCIETY, SHOULD, BY ITS PRECEPTS, BIND THE AUTHORITY TO THE CITIZEN. Nobody must stand above or beyond the law.

The law should be above state power, the administrative and economic apparatuses. The citizens and their organizations should be subject to the law. All should be equal before the law. The law should be one and fair to everybody, irrespective of position in society and the state.

The high rank must be restored to courts as organs called upon to settle controversies not only among citizens, but also between citizens and their organizations, on the one hand, and state organs on the other, because we regard courts as independent institutions, as the guarantors of civil rights and freedoms.

In line with general demands the administration of justice requires expansion through:

1) GIVING ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS THE AUTHORITY to pass sentences in cases of infringing the political rights of citizens (the rights to form organizations and hold meetings, freedoms of speech and the press, and so forth);

2) SETTING UP CONSTITUTIONAL COURTS to turn the Constitution into a living and respected law;

3) SETTING UP A COURT OF STATE [trybunal stanu] to judge persons who, while holding the highest offices, committed abuses and exposed the state to danger or great harms. We second the voices of public opinion demanding that DETENTION AS A PREVENTIVE MEASURE BE CARRIED OUT ON THE BASIS OF A COURT SENTENCE.

We also consider that the prosecutor's supervision over investigative organs should be strengthened to provide the suspect with appropriate protection, in addition to his procedural protection at the initial stages of the prosecution.

We consider that the prosecutor's office should be subordinated to the Ministry of Justice and thus, like the government, be subject to the Sejm's control.

We come out for irremovability of judges and thus for the abrogation of the generally criticized practice of restricting Supreme Court judges to one term in office, because that practice infringes upon the principle of judicial independence. The appropriate election of assessors to various kinds of courts is another condition for judicial independence. The present method of appointing assessors does not guarantee their proper selection. We consider that assessors should be elected in general elections along with council members at the basic and voivodship levels.

The administration of justice should be accessible to all, and for that reason the profits drawn from court fees and the endeavors to draw revenues, at any price, to the state treasury from the Ministry of Justice must be given up.

In addition to the court's control, justice also requires a public control over the organs of public security and order. The Sejm and people's councils should systematically examine the work of those organs, in open, public debates. The public should also have an insight into penitentiary conditions and the trade union should have control over the labor conditions of prisoners.

We demand that trade union freedoms, recognized through the ratification of the appropriate international conventions, be stated to their full extent in the laws, along with the right to strike and to undertake other measures by employees to attain their rights.
We also demand that farmers' family property be inviolable.

Since the law, as we say, should express the interests and will of society, representative organs, provided with the power to pass the laws and to adopt decision, should stem from authentic election. In connection with that WE CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO PUT INTO EFFECT NEW REGULATIONS FOR SEJM AND PEOPLE'S COUNCIL ELECTIONS, regulations guaranteeing organizations and groups of citizens the right to freely nominate their candidate deputies and council members, and for the voters the right to freely elect their representatives from among the candidates.

2. The Openness of Public Life and Censorship Problems

Effective defense of the interests of the working world and other forms of civil activity are impossible without making obligatory in our country the principle of openness in public life. On the one hand, this applies to freedom of criticism and speech, and on the other, to the citizens' free access to the documents of the state administration and their ability to express and publish their views. Openness in the authorities' activity is indispensable to avoid a future repetition of the practices of concealing behind the screen of official secrecy harmful, selfish, illegal or even criminal decisions. Both those freedoms and openness can only be restricted to protect the legally defined basic nationwide values and interests, for example, voicing views which insult the moral and religious views of society; the protection of state secrets; and voicing views undermining international alliances.

It is necessary to legally define the limits permissible for censorship, to make that interference subject to judicial control and to put into effect the rule that censorship should be marked in the text. The restriction of censorship must go hand in hand with ensuring public access to the state-owned mass media such as radio, television and publishing houses, and with opening for all legal associations an access to the means necessary for independent publishing activities. The mass media, particularly radio and television, should be subject to public control.

3. The Principle of Cadre Selection

Cadre policy has thus far failed to ensure the proper selection of persons for leading positions, which have almost exclusively been reserved for members of the party, which has the decisive say in appointments.

That state of affairs restricts civil rights, because the overwhelming majority of citizens are being discriminated against in their access to leading positiolns and society has no influence on appointments to them. Many leading positions are being held by persons who are not suitable for them and who enjoy no prestige among the working people. That is very harmful both for culture, in the broadest sense, and for the national economy.

Under such circumstances, it is essential as soon as possible TO OPEN LEADING POSITIONS FOR ALL CITIZENS POSSESSING APPROPRIATE PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS and to ensure public control over appointments to those positions. In connection with that, leading positions should be held by persons who are competent and accepted by enterprise workforces. The principle of permanency [nomenklatura] may only be applicable to political positions.

4. Self-Government, People's Councils

We support activities enhancing true self-government. We particularly support activities enhancing judicial self-government that provides a condition for the independence of courts, as well as activity aimed at the autonomy of higher schools and the self-government of scientific establishments, which is a condition for the smooth development of scientific thought and for the complete training of new generations of specialists. We regard the independent students movement as an authentic social force which will take an active part in promoting the democratic shape of the future. The trade union also backs the aspirations of creative, scientific, public, regional and other societies for fully independent activity.

TO ENSURE FOR POLISH FARMERS FULL RIGHTS TO AN INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING TRADE MOVEMENT, enjoying the same privileges which our trade union does, is a separate issue, an issue of fundamental importance for the entire nation. We will support the farmers in the struggle for their rights and we will give them every legal, organizational and other assistance.

Last but not least, cooperative organizations, which in our country have a long tradition, constitute an important form of self-government. The cooperative movement must again be true to its name. In the present practice, the citizens have no influence on the composition of the representative organs of people's councils. Elections have to a large extent been fictitious. Council members do not need to win the support of the voters and thus they do not properly represent their interests. To date, people's councils have not only failed to defend with adequate vigor the interests of the inhabitants of a territory, but have also frequently tolerated corruption, illegal privileges, theft and mismanagement.

Guided by the interests of the working people in the broadest sense, our trade union must call on the authorities to change that state of affairs. In particular, we must demand:

Changing voting regulations in such a way as to enable the voters to really elect one representative from among several candidates;

Adopting the rule that everyone may run in elections to the people's council, provided that he or she wins the support of an appropriate number of citizens;

Holding, before the end of this year, new elections to people's councils on the basis of democratized voting regulations.

V. The Trade Union's Life

1. The Territorial and Trade Structure of the Union

Structurally, our union has not been completely shaped but one can already say that THE FUNDAMENTAL TERRITORIAL LINK ENSURING MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY AMONG THE WORKING PEOPLE OF VARIOUS TRADES AND AT VARIOUS ENTERPRISES, as a rule, has come about. The territorial structure of the union is the best guarantee for the interests of the working people and provides the best conditions for negotiating with the authorities and administration at the national, regional, local and enterprise levels.

HOWEVER, THE UNION IS ALSO FULLY WARE THAT INDIVIDUAL TRADE AND BRANCH GROUPS HAVE THEIR OWN INTERESTS. For that reason, branch sections are being set up within the territorial structure. Those sections encompass enterprise-level trade union organizations in a branch or interfactory trade circles. They form councils or coordinating commissions at the regional level and the latter initiate the formation of section authorities at the national level. That is the way to protect the interests and needs of individual categories of the working people before the territorial trade union organizations. AND THE SUBORDINATION OF BRANCH AND TRADE COMMISSIONS TO THE TRADE UNION'S GOVERNING BODIES ENSURES THE PROTECTION OF THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

Our trade union is facing the great issue of streamlining the structure of those section and commissions, and of finding the correct relationship between the basic authorities of the union--the regional and national authorities--and the branch and trade union sections.

The basic tasks of the sections include preparing draft collective labor accords and other accords concerning the problems of employees working in individual branches. They also include sponsoring other activities in connection with trade qualifications, health risks, work hygiene and safety, and so on. In certain situations the local authorities can entrust other functions to trade union or branch sections. Trade union and branch problems are very much present in daily practice because of the tradition of the old branch structure of the trade unions and because of current needs. That is why questions of the correct attitude of sections toward the trade union authorities, the division and scope of their tasks, the manner in which authorities are selected in trade union and branch sections, and other questions urgently require wide-ranging discussions.

2. Basic Principles of Trade Union Democracy and Activity

We want our trade union to be independent and we know what this means. We want our trade union to be self-governing and independent and to radiate democracy in public life countrywide. The rights and practice of our trade union make it possible to indicate the principles that determine the nature of our trade union democracy and activity.

First, ALL UNION MEMBERS ARE EQUALS. Each trade union member has equal rights, only one vote and the right to freely express his views on trade union subjects. There are no better and no worse trade union members, regardless of their functions that may give them a temporary prerogative to make decisions on behalf of other members.

Second, THE TRADE UNION'S AUTHORITIES ARE SERVANTS AND REPRESENTATIVES. Each person with a function in the trade union is no more than a representative authorized by his electors to serve them and the entire union. That is why they have the duty to constantly and fully inform their electors about the actual decisions and the reasons for them. That is why they can be relieved of their trade union functions if their electors want to relieve them. The effectiveness of union activities is impossible with filling in the necessary regular trade union jobs and without providing the necessary technical equipment and premises. However, the country's and union's difficult situation, and the bad experience of the activity of the former Central Trade Union Council (CRZZ), make it imperative for us to show particular moderation and modesty in meeting those needs. We must be thrifty in administering the union's fiscal resources. The wages of regular trade union employees should not be higher than other wages in the national economy.

Third, TRADE UNION LIFE IS OPEN. Equality and the service nature of trade union functions are truly significant only if the activity of all union echelons is open. In particular, all the negotiations with the government and with representatives of the employer must be open. The union's members must be able to examine the documents of the trade union authorities and their sections, which must use every channel to provide information to the widest masses of trade unionists about current problems and actual activities. A special role is to be played in that regard by the trade union organizations and circles whose task is to inform not only about the position of the trade union leadership, but also about the position of the individual organizations and to militate in favor the most comprehensive information about trade union life.

Fourth, THE UNION ACTS IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLIDARITY. That is the meaning of the individual self-governing factory organizations membership in the general community of working people professing solidarity. That is most obvious in the case of strikes, during which individual factories or regions substitute or help each other. That universal bond of solidarity imparts a special stamp to our trade union. That is because in our own interest, we make decisions that are consistent with the interests of other people. Maintaining such solidarity calls for unceasing cooperation and exchanges of information among factory organizations in various branches and regions, regardless of the territorial bodies of trade union authorities.

Fifth, THE UNION'S MEMBERS ARE TIED BY MUTUAL ACCORDS. The union's statutes or the resolutions adopted by the factory meeting are binding on all members of the organization, even if they voted against such resolutions. It is necessary to observe the democratically adopted mutual accords even in cases when deviation would proudce temporary advantages. The rule of law within the union is a necessary prerequisite for effective activity and democracy, and the statutes and various resolutions constitute precisely our trade union law. However, all that does not make criticism and conflicts redundant. On the contrary, internal criticism and conflicts are signs that the union is healthy. We need constant critical control over the activity of the union and its individual echelons but the changes resulting from such criticism should be carried out in keeping with democratic principles.

Observance of the aforementioned principles in our trade union life is not an easy matter. The need for collective activity in situations of constant threat may at times prompt a tendency to give precedence to the requirements of effective activity over the principles of trade union democracy. However, it is a fact that the union's democratic nature is its strength. There is no better discipline of activity than the unity of those who themselves actively participate in collective decisionmaking. That is why we cannot force ourselves to think in terms of a beleaguered stronghold. Otherwise we will acquire the same defects of public life against which we want to fight.

Finally, sixth, THE TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION USES VARIOUS FORMS OF STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' PROBLEMS. For example, it intervenes in conflicts between employees and employers, places demands before employers and authorities, organizes and runs workforces' protest actions and so on. HOWEVER, STRIKES PLAY A SPECIAL ROLE. We do not forget that strikes are not only ultimate instruments but also trials of trade union commonsense and solidarity. That is why they must be socially justified. Reasons for strikes must also be adequately proportionate to the social costs caused by strikes.

In that connection, it is necessary to follow a number of principles:

A) Strikes should be EFFECTIVE, but should cost as little as possible:

B) Strikes must have SOCIAL SUPPORT, and this is connected with the need for extensively informing society about the reasons for strikes;

C) It is important to SELECT STRIKE AREAS: to select a spot that hurts the state employer most painfully and the people least painfully. Strikes should spare those spheres of the economy which work directly to meet the population's needs.

Strike negotiations (with managements or authorities) are important elements of the trade union struggle. It is necessary from the vary beginning to be carefully prepared for such negotiations and to know what is wanted. The most important issue is that a compromise, which is inevitable in many cases, does not cause a conflict in the trade union organization, but that it welds the organization together by preparing it for further struggle for the cause.

We must safeguard trade union democracy with the help of various institutions and forms of action. The trade union press and publications must not be censored by trade union authorities in the area of trade union matters.

That is because such a press and publications have to be a permanent source of complete information about the union's life and of criticism of shortcomings, which we will certainly not avoid. We must also ensure a comprehensive flow of information within the union--that is, the provision of constant, rapid and detailed information for the lower echelons and the mass of members about the decisions and work of the higher echelons; and for the higher echelons about the needs and views of the union's members. It is also necessary for the individual factory organizations and for various regions to mutually provide information.

3. Basic Functions of Factory Organizations

The self-governing factory organization is the basis of trade union life. On the other hand, higher levels of the trade union organization have to represent the interests of factory organizations and make democratic decisions in constant agreement with the trade unionists from the individual factories. Regional or national authorities make decisions only on issues that are of interest to all the members of the union.

Each factory organization must therefore work out its own action program. Such a program includes three basic groups of issues:

1) ACTIVITY TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS, DIGNITY AND INTERESTS OF THE EMPLOYEES in a given factory. That involves control over the activities of the factory management and of the various factory departments, and calls for constant checks on working conditions and on decisions concerning wages, promotions, transfers, bonuses, assistance and vacations. The factory organization defends its members and the interests of all employees, regardless of their trade union affiliation. It also seeks to develop friendly relations among employees and to promote their commitment to an efficient work organization in their factory.

2) SAFEGUARDING THE SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL NEEDS OF THE ORGANIZATION'S MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES. The factory organization should constitute a living social community, within which various activities are conducted to strengthen trade union solidarity and to develop the personalities of the union's members. In cooperation with other factory organizations or specialized departments of the union, it is necessary to promote athletic, recreational, educational and cultural activities. Joint experiences make people more friendly and prepare them for common activity in threatening situations--when the time comes for an energetic struggle in defense of one's own rights.

In keeping with its self-governing powers, each factory organization must work out by itself the ways by which those tasks are to be implemented. Those matters are as important as the defense of economic interests. That is because our union's task is to develop the personality of the working people and because our union wants to help them intensify their spiritual lives and, finally, to assist the family life of its members. It is also desirable to promote amateur athletic and cultural activities, to participate in the broadest possible activities of workers' universities and to jointly organize recreation, tourism, excursions and various forms of celebrating trade union festive days.

3) THE ISSUE OF WAGES FOR EMPLOYEES OF THE UNION'S FACTORY ORGANIZATIONS CALLS FOR COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSIONS. All of them (or some of them) can be paid wages by factories, which are obliged by law to release from factory work those employees who are employed by trade unions. Such a solution can save the union considerable expenses and can be lawfully demanded of factories. Another solution is to meet all the personal expenses of factory organizations from the union's funds. That would stress the union's complete independence. Factory employees working for the union's factory organization would be granted unpaid vacations from their factory.

Should the first solution be adopted--that is, the union organizations can take advantage of factory vacancies placed at their disposal--it is necessary to decide whether such vacancies should be filled exclusively by trade union employees (secretaries, book-keepers, wage and work safety specialists, legal advisors and so on) or whether they should be filled by elected activists.

4. Control Over Activities of the Union's Larger Echelons and Cooperation With Other Factory Organizations

It is the task of each union member to constantly see that the union's representatives act in keeping with the interests of members and with the principles of trade union democracy. In case of incorrect conduct, it is necessary to criticize and even dismiss the union's defaulting functionary from his function.

VI. Conclusion

Solidarity is the main guarantee of the renewal process. There is no other social force in Poland that would be able to replace Solidarity in that task. Treading the road of renewal, we must be determined and ready to make sacrifices. Either Solidarity will transform its social environment or the present system will impose its norms and goals, will paralyze our efforts and will swallow us in the end, annihilating our hopes for a rebirth.

There is no turning back from the road we have chosen. The only thing we can do is to march forward toward the country's complete renewal. February-March 1981.

GENERAL MICHTA ANALYZES CRISIS IN ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI

AU230941 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Apr 81 p 3

[Brig Gen Norbert Michta article: "The Time of Truth Has Come--More About Reasons for the Crisis"]

[Excerpts] In my view, the reasons for the periodic crises are rooted primarily in the subjective sphere, in the system of running and managing the economy and government, in the way in which the party's leading role is demonstrated, in cadre policy and in society's ideological-political education. The complete and profound revelation of those reasons in the public forum and completely free criticism and self-criticism are the necessary conditions for success of the efforts to get the country out of its present prolonged crisis and important factors in preventing similar catastrophic events in the future. However, let us be frank: The party and society were not fully informed about the essence and nature of the so-called rightist-national deviation in 1948, as a result of which the leadership of the party, the state, the security organs, the Armed Forces, social and youth organizations and various areas of culture and education were taken over by dogmatic-sectarian groups. Nor were the party and society fully informed of the true reasons for and the background of the crises in 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1976.

Today the time has come to reveal the truth--even the most bitter and painful truth--if it is our desire that the nightmare of the years when dedicated patriot-communists and soldiers of the People's Guards, the People's Army, the peasant battalions and the Home Army were baselessly accused, never returns.

Large masses of party members and of the general public are discussing the issue of the responsibility of the leading cadres for the deformations and errors that brought about the severe political and economic consequences. At the same time, doubt is being cast on the issue whether the guilty can join the mainstream of the present renewal. Most people doubt the candor and ease with which some party activists have switched their allegiance to a new line of activity without self-critically appraising their pervious activities.

The public will not easily forgive the distortions and errors committed by the leading party activists. The public wants them to be self-critical,frank and modest. Otherwise even the most beautiful articles published in the press will convince no one.

The correctness and success of party policy and government work depend ultimately on the main command center and on the ideological-moral worth, competence and organizational talents of cadres.

Some people take the view that deformations in that regard began in 1948. I believe that at the beginning of the fifties Marxism was strengthened but that at the same time dogmatic and sectarian tendencies increased. Those tendencies stemmed from the familiar concepts in the communist movement, which were correctly evaluated by the CPSU, mainly at its 20th congress. Under Polish conditions, dogmatism and sectarianism were fostered by our own creators of cults. Many of those creators turned revisionists later on and some of them went over to the anticommunist camp. (If anyone wants proofs thereof let him consult the publications of that time).

Following the Sixth Congress, attempts were made to return to the tested road of Marxism-Leninism. The PZPR Central Committee even organized a conference, which--insofar as I remember--was chaired by Prof Z. Cackowski. The conference's main goal was to ensure the domination of Marxism in social sciences. Although the Institute of Marxism-Leninism was set up and the main issue was tackled, erosion continued and increased after 1975, following the Seventh Congress, when slogans such as "the quality of life," "that Poland may grow in strength and the people may live better," "that the Pole can do it" and, of course, the propaganda of success became the main tenets.

The present crisis is most extensive and the way out of it is most difficult. There are many reasons for it but one of them is the most important. As I see it, in the second half of the seventies the party leadership included a group of the people who were ideologically and intellectually dull. As there is no vacuum in nature, the place vacated by Marxism-Leninism--which functioned verbally only--was taken over by bourgeois and petty bourgeois mentality, consumerism, admiration of the West's flashy opulence and getting rich at any price. The leadership did not want to hear and know about poverty and about the tough lot of many working people in industry and rural areas. In the Armed Forces we continued to strengthen Marxist and patriotic ideology and to prevent negative tendencies and manifestations but we had much trouble with the divergence between theory and practice in the party and state.

We are building socialism in a situation in which the world is divided into two systems and under conditions of struggle against domestic and external anticommunist forces. The factor of struggle is a must in running the party and the state. It must be taken into account in deliberations on reasons for the crisis. That struggle is a permanent factor and our adversaries are just waiting to catch us making errors and to mercilessly exploit our weaknesses. We will have to pay for a long, long time the ransom for deviating from Marxism-Leninism and patriotism. The tragedy and complicated nature of the present situation is that workers, poor peasants and underprivileged intellectuals are coming under influence that is alien to socialism, while protesting the petit bourgeois distortions and errors.

Searching for the reasons for our crisis, some writers dwell on the difficult and often tense history of the Polish Workers Party and the PZPR. During the occupation I was a member of the former. I have made many statements on the revolutionary significance of the establishment of the Polish Workers Party and on its great achievements. It is a pity that those writers have not clarified the reasons for the deprecation of the achievements of that party and its cadres. That deprecation had a crucial share in causing the deformations in question, at least in the last decade.

For example, aside from presenting the reasons for the crisis, A. Starewicz demands guarantees to prevent its recurrence. Such guarantees include primarily the rotation of cadres, democratic elections and a new shape of the party apparatus. A writer has said that the people in leading positions behave unlike an apple. When an apple is ripe it falls to the ground but the people in question do not. It is a great pity that A. Starewicz did not ensure when he was in power that the ideas now presented by him were implemented. He did not even take tentative steps to do so and even took selfish advantage of the greatly limited and enigmatic internal party democracy that was valid in the PZPR in his days, which was especially glaring before the Fifth PZPR Congress.

Loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology, observance of the principles of that ideology, solicitude for ideological integrity and creative application of ideological tenets in the Polish conditions are the basic criteria of our party's identity.

Neglects in theory are considerable and that is why there is an urgent need to analyze the situation, review and recruit cadres for the ideological front and define needs, policies and an action program. It is necessary to convene a national conference of Marxists to sponsor research work into the present reality and the historical sources of deformations and to create scientific foundations of the program for development of our party and our fatherland in the next few years and in the longer run. It is necessary to go back to foundations and sources and to take advantage of the achievements of the USSR, the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Western communist parties. In promoting Marxist-Leninist science the leading role should be played by the comrades who have shown courage who have not lost character and who have fought against distortions of the socialist idea.

It is the duty of our community to produce a critical and self-critical evaluation, because only in this way will we be able to recover our confidence. That is urgently necessary just now, and an opportunity is looming for the Marxists to show militancy.

The erosion of Marxism-Leninism has ideologically impoverished the party cadres and that is why the comrades with poor knowledge and even apolitical comrades have continued to occupy mandatory positions. Today it is necessary to erect effective obstacles to such practices.

RAKOWSKI REMARKS ON NATURE OF CHANGE VIEWED

LD221630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] We must prepare for a historic process. I am quoting from the statement made at the Kuznica club by Deputy Premier Rakowski, which was printed in yesterday's ECHO KRAKOWA. The structure, Rakowski goes on to say, cannot be transformed by violence. A concept of a system of government must be worked out and the many internal and external threats must not be overlooked. If our experiment as it is today could be mechanically enclosed within geographical frontiers, it would open up the possibility of certain complications in central and Eastern Europe. The words "possibility of certain complications" have been spoken in public in Poland for the first time since August. It is no secret, however, that our near and more distant neighbors have been looking with a certain disquiet, not just since yesterday, at the possibility of such complications. There is nothing strange about that.

Even though their rate of economic growth is also falling, they are not experiencing the dramatic economic difficulties which are our daily bread. They have not been pinned to the wall by the imperative to carry out reforms, because they did not get into debt like madmen. We know that (?he who is) relatively well off and leads a quiet life does not look kindly on the possibility of change. It must make our friends and neighbors worried to see the constant and (?open) recurrence of reports in some papers and magazines in Poland about an alleged threat to the socialist principles of the system of government in Poland and the alleged growing activity of some vague forces of reaction and even of counterrevolution.

These voices, for example in an article in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, are too often cited, because they are accepted on the principle that, well, since the Poles themselves accept them, they know best, it must be the truth. The truth, however, is contained not in [word indistinct] accusations and warnings about antisocialist forces, but in this: that this nation genuinely believes in socialism and has decided really, seriously, to put its assumptions into practice. Rakowski is right that this is a historic process, which has to go on for years. For that reason, on the topic of what is happening in Poland, it is very important to (?notice) not just what is being written but who is writing it.

ZABINSKI TALKS WITH SIEMIANOWICE PLANT ACTIVISTS

LD222326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Summary] "Andrezej Zabinski, first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee and Politburo member, today met activists at the Jednosc steel plant in Siemianowice." They discussed the course of the precongress campaign discussion and proposals emerging from it, and issues concerning the country, the party and the plant. More frequent contacts between party authorities and members of works' party organizations were proposed.

PZPR VOIVODSHIP SECRETARIES DISCUSS RURAL ISSUES

LD222050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] A conference attended by PZPR voivodship secretaries, dealing with farming and food husbandry, took place today at the party Central Committee. They discussed the development of the sociopolitical situation in the countryside and the implementation of the guidelines of the party Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium concerning the key problems of farming policy, agriculture and food husbandry.

Those present also acquainted themselves with the progress of spring field work. One of the major themes of the conference was also the situation in the party on the eve of the approaching ninth congress. The speakers included among the must urgent tasks the restoration of the confidence and prestige of party organizations as well as their mobilization for vigorous action.

What matters most is to create the best possible climate for the effective exercising of influence of self-government on the life of the countryside and the increase of good production. All the forms of agricultural self-government, revived in a new form, should become the authentic defender and representative of the sociovocational interests of farmers, without losing sight of their service and advisory-organizational functions.

As regards the socialized farms, issues connected with the introduction there of new economic and financial precepts are going to the fore. The conference stressed the need for the creating of material and economic conditions for the intensification of agricultural production and for the enlivening of all social forces in the countryside. Current matters, connected with the preparation of conditions for an increased harvest this year, were not overlooked.

WROCLAW PARTY ADOPTS RESOLUTION ON 1976 STRIKES

LD222012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Unidentified Wroclaw correspondent's report]

[Text] The executive of the Wroclaw Voivodship party committee has adopted a resolution on the events of 25 June 1976, which occurred at three Wroclaw work enterprises, (Aspa), (Trojmet) and Hydral.

The executive deemed it necessary to reanalyze the June 1976 events and rejected the political assessments made at that time.

The resolution states that these events constituted a justified workers' protest against the economic and social errors of the party and government leadership. They were expressions of the resolute criticism of the workers against the infringement of the principles of social justice and the requirements of socialist democracy.

Growing difficulties in the economy and in the life of the community caused an accumulation of social conflicts which, in June 1976, led to strikes in many regions of the country.

Instead of drawing conclusions from them, the then authorities failed to carry out essential changes in the functioning of the economy and the state. Contrary to statute principles, they stifled criticism. Representatives of this critical trend were removed from active party and public life.

The resolution states that the removal from party and union posts of comrades who were accused of ineffective political action during the strikes and expulsions from the party and other party punishments were unjustified. Dismissals from work of people who took part in the June strikes contradicted the spirit of the socialist rule of law.

PARTY COMMITTEES HOLD PLENUMS, DISCUSS CONGRESS

LD222138 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Apr (PAP)--The PUWP VC [voivodship committee] in Szczecin and the voivodship Congress Commission held a joint plenum in Szczecin today. The plenum defined the VC's standpoint towards the approaching 10th PUWP CC Plenum and the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

The main conclusion was that there exists a need for a thorough analysis of PUWP activities throughout the 35 years that have elapsed after the war, with a special view to the last decade. It is also necessary to point out the causes and mechanisms which caused social and political crises to repeat themselves.

This problem is also connected with a postulate put forward by the entire PUWP organization of Szczecin, concerning an in-depth appraisal of the top cadres' activities during the past decade. Special stress is laid here on the need for the 9th congress to decide the personal responsibility of individual members of the supreme authorities.

It was said that PUWP members and the society must learn the whole truth about the events of 1968 and the names of those who engineered the provocation. People who used the ignorance of a part of the society to try and bring back to power persons compromised in previous periods, like Jakub Berman, Roman Zambrowski and others. [sentence as received]

The Szczecin plenum also criticized the recent decisions to entrust to many ex-PUWP VC first secretaries removed from their posts new, responsible jobs in the central party apparatus.

The plenum also called for a more precise definition of what is often referred to as "anti-socialist activities" because the lack of such a definition gives rise to frequent misunderstandings.

Today PUWP activists in Rzeszow and the Rzeszow Voivodship hosted Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek. The meeting was devoted to Poland's foreign policy, our country's economic relations with other states, the current economic and social situation and its influence on foreign policy.

Answering questions put to him on these subjects, Minister Czyrek said that it is in the interest of every country--notwithstanding a few exceptions--for peace, law and order to prevail in Poland. This is confirmed by the various forms of aid given Poland from abroad.

A PUWP VC plenum took place in Gorzow Wielkopolski. It was devoted to the tasks of the VC in preparing for the 9th congress. First secretary of the Grozow VC, Ryszard Labus, said that the process of renewal is accepted everywhere. However, its realization encounters barriers and difficulties. Some of them consist in the conservative attitude and resistance of people and groups for whose interests renewal might be harmful. Many of these barriers result from the fact that the state of the economy is getting worse each day. At the same time a sharp political battle is going on.

The VC and most of the basic PUWP organization--said the speaker--are of the opinion that the political bureau's lack of initiative in introducing socialist renewal is not conducive to rebuilding trust between the basic PUWP organizations and the VC's and Central Committee. The speaker pointed to the slow pace of work on the economic reform and laws aimed at legalizing the democratization of the country, a liberal attitude to punishing people responsible for the present crisis and all those who used their posts to violate the law.

The members of the PUWP VC plenum in Sieradz also criticized the defensive attitude of the VC leadership, characterized by the lack of a set programme and the inability to take over initiative.

The VC adopted a resolution which expressed the will of the PUWP members and gave full support to Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski's government.

At today's PUWP VC plenum in Warsaw the members of the Warsaw PUWP organization said they expect the PUWP CC to display more energy in coordinating the works of the Central Party Control Commission, the main control commission and the prosecutor's office in such a way as to prepare before the 9th congress a report on who--and to what extent--is responsible for the political and economic errors of the past decade.

The work of the Warsaw VC during the recent period was criticized. One speaker said: "You are tired and cannot feel the weight of the battle for the party which is taking place among the lower echelons. The workers are not too eager for power because the Central Committee first makes misjudges [as received] the situation and then undoes its earlier decisions. A good example here is the Bydgoszcz affair or the registration of Rural Solidarity. We, the party rank-and-file, are still waiting for changes which are the conditions for the party winning back the support of the working class."

In an adopted resolution the VC said that in view of the present situation in the state and the party, the election campaign should proceed under the mottoes of socialist renewal and defence of the basic ideological and political principles of the party and the system.

An appeal addressed to PUWP members and candidates in the Warsaw party organization voices support for holding a May Day parade in Warsaw.

More on Warsaw Meeting

LD222310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] A plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee was held today, devoted to the electoral campaign for party authorities and echelons and of delegates to the ninth party congress. The plenary session was chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee.

The introductory paper, read by Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Jerzy Boleslawski, stressed that the course of the precongress discussion in the Warsaw party organization left no doubt as to the identification of renewal with strengthening socialism. The Warsaw organization, in its present state, can and should initiate a process of reforms.

The paper stated that after a wide-ranging discussion, the Warsaw Congress Commission had summed up the proposals, assessment and demands passed at the previous plenum and currently being implemented. There was general opposition to the practice of selecting members of echelons according to a so-called key. It should be taken into account, but must not, however, lead to a weakening of the worker-backbone of the party authorities. There was approval for the public presentation of their own views by party activists at central level. The Central Committee should take more energetic measures aimed at coordinating the work of the central party commission, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the public prosecutor's office, in order to clarify before the ninth congress who and to what extent is responsible for the political and economic mistakes committed.

There was support for strengthening the independence of party organizations and also for the widest possible cooperation with trade union cells active in Warsaw.

In the discussion, the danger of a lack of genuine representation of workers in party echelons was pointed out. The work of Warsaw echelons in the recent period was assessed critically.

Resolution Passed

LD222154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Excerpt] A plenum of the Warsaw party committee was held today. It was emphasized, among other things, that members of the Warsaw party organization expected the Central Committee to institute more energetic action to coordinate the work of the Central Commission of Party Control, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the procurator's office so that by the ninth congress it could be ascertained who is responsible for political and economic mistakes committed during the past 10 years and the extent of the responsibility.

A resolution has been passed. It states, among other things, that in the current situation in the state and the party, the election campaign should proceed under the slogan of socialist renewal and the defense of the fundamental ideological and political principles of the party and the country.

ZSL SUPREME COMMITTEE HOLDS SESSION 22 APRIL

LD222228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Summary] A session of the ZSL Supreme Committee was held today and was devoted to discussing political and organizational work of the party during the first quarter of the current year. The ZSL has more than 481,000 members at present.

It was decided to hold the next plenary meeting of the ZSL Supreme Committee on 7 and 8 May.

SUSLOV, CPSU DELEGATION ARRIVE IN WARSAW 23 APR

LD231312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Text] A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Mikhail Suslov, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, arrived in Warsaw. The delegation includes CPSU Central Committee Secretary Konstantin Rusakov.

CEREMONIES MARK LENIN BIRTH, TREATY ANNIVERSARIES

LD230906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Text] Numerous ceremonies marking the 111th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin and the 36th anniversary of the signing of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Poland and the Soviet Union took place yesterday. The ceremonies at the foot of the Lenin monument in Nowa Huta were attended by a delegation of the Central Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society led by its chairman, Aleksey Shitikov.

TRADE EXCHANGE, SUPPLY AID WITH USSR VIEWED

LD221204 Warsaw PAP in English 1117 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Apr (PAP)--Poland's trade exchange with the Soviet Union accounts currently for more than 30 percent of the nation's total foreign turnover.

Since 1968 Poland has been the second biggest Soviet trade partner after the GDR. Her present economic difficulties have weakened this position, mainly because of a drastic drop in Polish coal exports and stagnation of chemical exports. Nonetheless, the share of Poland in Soviet foreign trade is still maintained at circa 10 percent. All in all this year's Polish-Soviet trade turnover will be worth about 12,000 million dollars, some 60 percent of the sum accounting for import from the USSR, which will be by 13.6 percent higher than last year.

In 1980, Poland's trade turnover with the USSR ran in the red, similarly as in the previous years since the 1975 oil price hike in the CMEA. In addition to the further rise in the price of Soviet oil, Poland bought last year extra amounts of raw materials for agriculture and food economy as well as industrial goods, simultaneously failing to meet her coal export quotas. Also this year, Poland is curtailing her deliveries of goods to the Soviet Union.

Problems with Polish exports have not affected in any way the Soviet supplies for Poland which keep flowing in as planned, frequently ahead of schedule. This helpful injection of goods has a weighty impact on keeping up the appropriate pace of production.

In a particularly precious gesture of assistance, the Soviet Union granted Poland 1,000 million dollars of hard currency credits and 465 million dollars in financial aid. Besides, Poland received credits in roubles. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union deferred the repayment of some 500 million roubles of earlier credits until the next quinquennium.

USSR EXPORTS, ECONOMIC AID SHOW 'GOOD WILL'

LD231157 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 81 p 6

[Moscow correspondent Eugeniusz Gajda article: "Traditions and Present Scope"]

[Text] Traditional meetings of Soviet-Polish Friendship Society activists devoted to the 36th anniversary of the signing of the Polish-Soviet friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation agreement have been taking place in many Moscow industrial enterprises, institutions and higher schools which are group members of the society.

The Soviet Union has been our main economic partner since the birth of People's Poland. Poland's trade exchanges with the Soviet Union amount to one-third of our total trade exchanges and our share of Soviet trade turnover amounts to some 10 percent.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union has played a key role at all stages of People's Poland's economic development. In addition to any current trade advantages resulting, among other things, from the structure of our mutual turnover, access to the big and attractive Soviet market has encouraged some important transformations in the Polish economy and the development of many sectors which have been of essential importance for the modernization of our industry and many sectors of light industry have developed. Similar opportunities have now arisen with respect to the electronics industry. The Mera automation equipment and measuring apparatus association has become a well-known supplier of computer systems and selected peripheral devices.

Cooperation between our countries' aviation industries is equally important. Polish contribution in terms of supplies, within the framework of cooperation, to the building of the 350-seat IL-86 airbus has amounted to 12-15 percent.

Polish engineers and workers are participating in the building of a nuclear power station on Soviet territory. Our country has long been supplying installations for nuclear power station reactors. We will soon start importing such installations, first for the Zarnowiec nuclear power station which is now being built and, later for the Kujawy nuclear power station.

Our aim is to completely cover the cost of imports of installations which will be needed in Polish nuclear power stations by exporting our installations to the USSR and other CEMA countries.

Imports of fuel and raw materials indispensable for our economy are and will continue to be fundamentally important for our country.

Nearly 40 percent of raw materials imported by Poland come from the USSR. As a result of the so-called progressive prices principle adopted by CEMA a few years ago, the cost of Soviet raw materials imported by us has been considerably lower than otherwise. For instance, considering that the price of oil on the world market amounts to $300 per ton, whereas we paid R71.64, that is, $110.2 per ton for oil received from the USSR in 1980, the import of 13 million tons of oil purchased on the world market would have cost us $3.1 billion whereas we paid the Soviet Union R931 million, that is $1.5 billion. This year we will have to pay more for oil and oil products than last year but we will still pay 40 percent less than we would have to pay on the world market. The fact that because of our free access to the Soviet market we have been able to resolve the problem of payments by increasing our exports of industrial products is equally important.

The importance of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union becomes especially obvious whenever our country encounters, as it has now, serious economic and payment difficulties. Not only did the USSR not reduce its supplies to Poland in 1980 but it scrupulously implemented its agreements, speeded up the supplies of many goods and, occasionally, even increased supplies, despite the fact that we were unable to meet all our own obligations. For instance, we failed to supply to the Soviet market 3.3 million tons of coal, 100,000 tons of coke, 42,600 [tons] of sulfuric acid and a number of other goods.

Last year, in addition to considerable credits in convertible foreign exchange, the Soviet Union gave Poland some emergency aid in the form of 500,000 tons of grain, 10,000 tons of fish and fish products, 1,000 tons of honey, 10,000 tons of onions and 320 tons of tomato paste, plus some additional supplies of cotton, cellulose and synthetic rubber.

Last year's Polish-Soviet commercial turnover showed a R600-million deficit to our disadvantage. In the light of a protocol on trade turnover and payments in 1981, which was signed in Moscow on 19 February, this deficit is to increase to $1.4 billion. The value of this year's trade exchanges will amount to $8.5 billion, including Soviet supplies to Poland amounting to $4.95 billion.

The Soviet Union has shown understanding for our needs. Imports of basic raw materials from the USSR have been either maintained at the 1980 level or, in some cases--cellulose, paper, cotton and so forth, for instance--even increased (13.1 million tons of oil, some 3 million tons of petroleum products, more than 16 million tons of iron ore, 213,000 tons of cellulose and paper, 125,000 tons of cotton and 53,000 tons of aluminum).

The fact that we have been met halfway with respect to our agricultural needs has also been of essential importance. This year we will import from the USSR 100,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer, 835,000 tons of phosphates and 2.1 million tons of potash (sol potasowa). Supplies of raw materials and other materials needed for production represent the main item of our imports, amounting to nearly R4 million. [as published]

During the current year, the proportion of consumer goods imported by us from the Soviet Union is to be considerably bigger, since we are to import 300,000 refrigerators, 150,000 television sets, including a considerable number of color television sets, 300,000 portable radios and 2.4 million watches. In addition, the USSR will supply Poland with 30 million cans of preserved fish, 1,250 tons of hard cheeses, 5,000 tons of fish, 2,500 tons of tea and 2,000 tons of rice.

Taking our difficult economic situation into account, the Soviet Union agreed to a reduction of many Polish traditional export supplies.

In the first quarter of the current year, the Soviet Union supplied Poland with, inter alia, 3.3 million tons of crude oil, 1,273,000,000 cubic meters of natural gas, 3,719,000 tons of iron ore, 49,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer, 187,000 tons of phosphates and 537,000 tons of potash. As far as consumer goods are concerned, 44,000 refrigerators, 17,500 color television sets, 103,000 watches and a number of other goods have already been supplied.

The fact that Soviet supplies to Poland have been maintained at a high level--and even increased as far as some categories of goods and raw materials are concerned--in a situation where our country has been unable to meet its long-term export obligations speaks volumes for our Soviet partner's understanding, good will and desire to assist us.

IMF INTERVENTION SEEN AS COUNTRY'S ONLY SALVATION

LD221551 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Apr 81 pp 28 & 29

[Mats Lundegaard Warsaw interview with POLITYKA Deputy Editor Zygmund Szeliga: "Poland on Catastrophe Course"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 12 Apr--A Western diplomat has spoken of a decade of restraint in the Polish economy as a minimum requirement if the country's affairs are to be sorted out.

So did Zygmund Szeliga, deputy editor of the "heavyheight" newspaper POLITYKA, published in Warsaw. He is a respected and trusted economic commentator in Poland.

"There are no simple solutions," he said. "Hard work for the Poles, hard steering of the Polish economy, ideally a direct intervention by the IMF. That would give the government here a chance to blame outside forces for unpleasant decisions. It would also be a way, perhaps the only way, of reestablishing a minimum of confidence in our economy in the West."

Talking of the IMF as the only salvation for an Eastern bloc country is like swearing in church. But Zygmund Szeliga was serious. He then claimed that he is by no means alone in holding this view. "All the economists in Poland have some sort of similar view," he said.

Poland is not a member of the IMF. However, there have been negotiations about admission and it has been hinted that there is sufficient interest. But for the time being the exact point which has been reached in the decisionmaking process is being kept secret.

"It would of course be very difficult, for both political and economic reasons, for Comecon to approve Polish membership of the IMF," Zygmund Szeliga conceded. "Further binding of the Polish economy to the West would be hard to swallow."

He did not say so, but Szeliga possibly thinks that it would be an unacceptable humiliation for the socialist economy's standard-bearers in Comecon to see one of the bloc's important industrial nations seeking help in a time of catastrophe from Western capitalism.

The very first step which must be taken, Zygmund Szeliga said, is in fact to cancel repayments. There is a technical alternative, that is to rewrite the credits and lend more money to pay off the old debts. But in reality this cannot be done. The burden of debt would only increase further with such a postponement, investment possibilities would be even further reduced and production would stagnate even further.

"The only thing which would work would be a moratorium and immediately after it a really tough stabilization plan and equally tough external controls [yttre kontroll]."

Zygmund Szeliga thinks that Poland's economic future could develop along two lines.

They are both extraordinarily somber prospects for the future, with a severely circumscribed home consumption market, heightened calls for production (which would, among other things, mean harder work for all), even unemployment for 500,000 perhaps even 1 million people. This latter possibility is still blasphemy in a socialist economy such as those developed in Eastern Europe.

"We can choose between a planned squeeze or one which falls on us uncontrolled and forced. The former would perhaps be our salvation. The latter would lead to catastrophe, both political and economic."

With the former method the landslide in the Polish economy could be halted in 2-3 years, he thought. In 5 years it would be possible to begin to see the outline of a future. In 10 years Poland could be on its feet again economically.

When I asked him if some of his advice did not conflict with orthodox socialism, he denied it.

"It is no longer a question of socialism or capitalism," he said. "It is a question of what are good or bad economic solutions."

Easy to say.

The fact remains that, no matter what the crisis policies look like in Poland, they will have palpable political repercussions both at home and abroad.

The question is whether the Poles are ready to accept iron-handed restraint in the private economy and/or a level of unemployment in exchange for promises of marginal improvements in 10 years' time. People in this country have learned to distrust long-term promises.

The other question is whether the Soviet Union and the rest of the Eastern bloc could face the political cost of a Poland being bound in ever greater economic dependence on the West.

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH BENELUX UNION

LD222250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Ryszard Karski, Polish minister of foreign trade and maritime economy, today in Brussels signed an agreement on economic cooperation between Poland and the Benelux economic union. At the same time, the treaty concluded in 1973 on the development of mutual economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation was extended for a further 5 years.

SCIENCE COOPERATION ACCORD SIGNED WITH SRV IN WARSAW

OW221531 Hanoi VNA in English 1457 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Hanoi, 22 April (VNA)--A protocol on scientific cooperation in 1981-1985 was signed in Warsaw yesterday between Z. Kaczmarzyk, secretary-general of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and Tran Dai Nghia, director of the Vietnam Institute of Sciences. The protocol defines the principles and conditions of cooperation in conducting in joint research projects. It also provides for Poland's continued assistance to Vietnam in professional training.

METALLURGY MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON RESULTS, PLANS

LD211854 Warsaw PAP in English 1704 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Apr (PAP)--For the first time in 1981 Poland's metallurgic output will be lower than in the preceding year, stated Minister of Metallurgy Zbigniew Szalajda in an interview for the PAP Polish News Agency.

This, he added, will be conducive to the production of higher grade and more labour-intensive items. We plan to produce in 1981 nearly 19 million tons of coke, 17.7 million tons of steel, 12.8 million tons of rolled products, 340,000 tons of copper, about 200,000 tons of zinc, 77,999 tons of lead, and about 70,000 tons of aluminium, the minister said.

We favourably implemented the targets of this year's first quarter and advanced fairly well the annual targets to the tune of 24.7 percent in rolled products, 24.9 percent in copper, 24 percent in zinc, 23.5 percent in lead and 21.4 percent in aluminium.

The implementation of current targets is hindered mainly by insufficient supply of some raw materials and materials imported for dollars. In the first three months of this year the Polish steel industry obtained only about 15 percent of cash means it needs for that aim. As a result our economy begins to feel the shortage of such basic items as tin, lead, aluminium, and alloy steels. These cannot be produced due to the lack of imported alloy additives, molybdenum in particular.

The quantitative development of metallurgic production was relatively high during past ten years, said Minister Szalajda. A plan to develop the steel industry envisages that the annual consumption of steel in Poland in the years 1981-1985 will amount to 18-19 million tons, to rise to 20-21 million tons in 1990.

The quantative development of production must now be turned in favour of structural and assortment changes.

An uneconomical use of steel in Poland poses a separate problem. The present consumption of steel for one citizen amounts to 570 kilos. This is a very high index, similar to the level of the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and West Germany.

Commenting on the construction of the "Katowice" steelworks, a large controversial steel project, the minister said, "it had many opponents but the reality is that the plant does exist and functions very well."

The "Katowice" steelworks is a key to the further change in the structure of Polish metallurgy, and above all to the transformation of the old metallurgy into a processing industry tolerated by the environment, the minister said.

A separate thing is the industry of non-ferrous metals, continued Minister Szalajda. Copper is almost our national industry. We will devote more means for its development.

We wish to further develop the production of zinc and lead.

We wonder, however, what in the current economic situation should be done with the output of aluminium. Should this industry be expanded if we consider that it is highly energy intensive and we are short of domestic raw materials?

We will submit a program for the development of metallurgy till 1985 and 1990 to a broad discussion of specialists from various milieu, to the respective Sejm committee and the government," [quotation marks as received] stated the minister.

STEELWORKS ELECTORAL MEETING ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

LD211414 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] [No dateline received] A party report-back electoral conference has taken place at the Batory steelworks. The atmosphere of this meeting was similar to that of the conferences of which PAP Maritime Service has already written. A new element was the demand that persons who have contributed to the economic ruin of the country be stripped of the Order of Builders of People's Poland.

Many speakers also called for the strictest conclusions to be drawn with regard to the former first secretary from Katowice, Z. Grudzien

MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, LEAFLETS CONDEMNED

LD161024 Warsaw PAP in English 0813 GMT 16 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Apr (PAP)--"The creation of artificial divisions and the fanning or instigating of antagonisms does not serve the national interest in any conditions and particularly so at a time when the country is immersed in crisis," wrote Jerzy J. Wiatr in ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

"What is the purpose of all those illegal leaflets which in a crude but politically clear language refer to anti-Jewish slogans? Who is interested in reviving anti-Semitic slogans rather than talking of matters particularly important for the processes of socialist renewal and Poland's future?

"Speaking of anti-Semitism, Stanislaw Kania called it a 'poisoned well' from which we shall never draw water. This is not only the party's standpoint. This is the standpoint upheld by all genuine conscious advocates of democratic transformations in our country. And this is right because Poland is known for her beautiful traditions of tolerance. Little wonder therefore that attempts to create a smokescreen out of anti-Jewish slogans to disguise very transparent political tactics arouses opposition. This opposition is not only due to the fact that anti-Semitism is alien to our nation, that it runs counter to the ideological principles of the working class movement and the entire left and, last but not least, that it would discredit Poland in the eyes of other nations. Moreover, this opposition is also based on the premise that whoever circulates anti-Jewish slogans is engaging in subversion drawing attention away from the processes of renewal."

SEJM DEPUTIES DISCUSS DRAFT LAW ON CENSORSHIP

LD222119 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Excerpts] The bill on control of publications and public performances has entered the stage of deputies' debate. The provisions contained in the draft law were outlined by Jerzy Bafia, the justice minister.

The deputies advocated among other things an acceleration of further work on the draft law and stressed that many controversies were caused by the place of censorship in state organization. They took under consideration the possibility of a variant which would make the central Office for Control of Publications and Public Performances subordinate to the Council of State.

VOIVODSHIP ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS TO BE SET UP

LD222118 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] The Polish Press Agency reports that during the session of Sejm commissions held today to discuss the draft law on censorship it was stated that voivodship centers of the supreme administrative court are to be created soon. The court is responsible for control of the compatability of administrative decisions with the law of the land. Preparations for setting up five such centers are in progress in Gdansk, Krakow, Katowice, Poznan and Wroclaw. Each of these centers will be responsible for several voivodships in their regions.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES 'ARAFAT ON REELECTION

AU221936 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Apr (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of RCP, sent a telegram of congratulations to Yasir 'Arafat on his having been elected president of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I take this opportunity, the telegram reads, to reiterate our determination to further develop and expand the relations of friendship and collaboration established between the Romanian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Organization, in the spirit of mutual respect and esteem, in the interest of developing and diversifying the relations between our two peoples, of the solidarity and unity of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces everywhere, of the cause of international peace, understanding and cooperation.

NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST

AU221935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1843 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Apr (AGERPRES)--Professor Ishaya Audu, commissioner for external affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, arrived in Bucharest on April 22 for an official visit to Romania. On arrival, the guest was welcomed by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

PREMIER VERDET RETURNS TO BUCHAREST FROM SFRY

AU221934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Apr (AGERPRES)--Romanian Premier Ilie Verdet returned to Bucharest on April 22, after he had paid an official visit of friendship to Yugoslavia.

USSR AMBASSADOR MARKS LENIN'S ANNIVERSARY

AU230854 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Apr 81 p 4

[Text] USSR Ambassador to Bucharest V.I. Drozdenko organized a friendly meeting at the embassy on 21 April on the occasion of the 111th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth.

The meeting was attended by Comrades Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Cornel Onescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions and of the Association for Ties of Friendship With the Soviet Union, members and candidate members of the RCP Central Committee, old party activists and veterans of the Romanian workers movement, members of the leadership of various ministries, central institutions, mass and civic organizations, party and state activists, generals and high-ranking officers, men of science, art and culture, and journalists.

The meeting was also attended by heads of diplomatic missions accredited to our country.

Documentary movies on Lenin's life and work were shown on the occasion.

PRESS CONFERENCE MARKS CPCZ ANNIVERSARY, CONGRESS

AU230756 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Apr 81 p 5

[Text] On the occasion of the CPCZ's 60th anniversary and of the 16th CPCZ Congress, a press conference was held in Bucharest on 21 April, attended by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, central press editors, representatives of the Romanian press agency AGERPRES, of radio and television and of various publications and foreign press correspondents accredited to our country.

Emphasizing the historic importance of the CPCZ's establishment on 14-16 May 1921, CSSR charge d'affaires ad interim Vladimir Vaclavik presented aspects of the struggle waged by the Czechoslovak workers class and people, led by the CPCZ, for national and social liberation, and successes attained by the Czechoslovak working people in building the socialist society.

At the end of his address the speaker stressed the good relations of friendship and cooperation existing between our countries, parties and peoples, relations which are successfully developing in many areas.

NICU CEAUSESCU ON INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

AU181916 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 18 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Apr (AGERPRES)--As already known, the proceedings of the first session of the UN Consultative Committee for the International Year of Youth which debated and adopted the programme of measures and activities carried on for its preparation and marking, have concluded in Vienna.

In an interview granted with the Bucharest newspaper SCINTEIA TINERETULUI the chairman of the committee, Nicu Ceausescu, considered the programme to be a comprehensive document, "A realistic and efficient platform through its wide gamut of proposals and actions at a local, national, regional and international level."

Likewise, he added, this represents a minimal base for the preparation and marking of the international year of youth, the governments, the UN and its specialized agencies, of the youth organizations, of other factors implied in moulding and training the young generation having to come up with further concrete concerns and initiatives.

The improvement of the current status of youth, its enhanced role in contemporary world, Nicu Ceausescu also said, means the creation of real possibilities for its moulding and participation in the national development, in the process of economic, social and political decision-making as well as in taking concrete measures for the liquidation of some anachronical aspects such as illiteracy, unemployment, drug addiction, crime, violence, terrorism which deeply affect a great many youth. The programme pays special attention to the aspects of increasing the young generation's contribution to the settlement, in the interests of the peoples, of the vital questions of our epoch.

In fact, in our opinion, the chairman of that intergovernmental body added, 1985 must not round off one series of concerns but open new and efficient prospects for approaching the youth's questions in their multiple aspects, as a permanent preoccupation of the governments, of the UN and its specialized institutions, of national, regional and international bodies of the youth.

As far as Romania is concerned, said Nicu Ceausescu, who is also secretary of the Union of Communist Youth and chairman of the Romanian Youth and Students' Association for the United Nations, he advanced a series of initiatives such as the preparation and organization of an international conference devoted to youth, the elaboration of a comprehensive international instrument meant to sanction the rights and responsibilities of the young generation, the expansion of the scientific research into youth questions.

As a promoter of such a worthy initiative, Nicu Ceausescu concluded, Romania is inspired by the determination to make the preparation of the international year of youth an opportunity to capitalize new, efficient modalities and possibilities of youth's participation in the struggle for the fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations after peace, independence, democracy and progress.

AGERPRES REPORTS DEVELOPMENT OF DANUBIAN HARBORS

AU211223 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Apr (AGERPRES)--On the Danube, upstream the Iron Gates II hydroelectric power stations, the construction of an industrial harbour has begun. While (?works) will be done within the Romanian-Yugoslav Iron Gates II hydroelectric and navigation system, the harbour will be used for the supply of the Ostrovul Mare yards, and afterwards it will be used for the supply of the economic units which will function in this area and the shipping of their products.

For the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan period, important works of development and modernization of the Romanian harbours on the Danube are provided for. The amplest works will be done in the Galati harbour for ore-carriers, which reaches the third stage of development. By these operations, the harbour of the Galati iron-and-steel combine will have a capacity of delivery for export of approximately 2.1 million tons annually. Braila, Romania's second Danubian harbour in size, will be endowed with new heavy equipment. Cranes of 5.16 and 26 tons-force, tractors of big capacity and other loading and unloading equipment which will raise the degree of mechanization of the harbour operations.

Mahmudia harbour which serves the local lime pit, will be considerably developed and will have a turnover capacity of 1.2 [? million] tons annually. This year, Calafat, another Danubian harbour, will reach a traffic capacity of 300,000 tons annually. Expansion works are under operation in other harbours such as Orsova, Giurgiu, Calarasi and Moldova Veche.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR RECEIVED IN LIECHTENSTEIN--Vaduz, 10 April (AGERPRES)--The head of state of Liechtenstein, Franz Josef II, and Princess Georgine received Mircea Malita, Romania's ambassador to Switzerland, on a protocol call. The Romanian ambassador conveyed cordial greetings and wishes for peace and prosperity on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu. In his turn, the Liechtenstein sovereign conveyed his feelings of esteem and friendship to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The Romanian ambassador was also received by Liechtenstein's government chief, Hans Brunhart, who expressed the conviction that bilateral relations will develop further. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Apr 81 p 6 AU]

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH EGYPT--Cairo, 10 April (AGERPRES)--Valeriu Ceoceonica, deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, was received in Cairo by Prof. Ibrahim Badran, chairman of the Egyptian Science and Technology Academy. Messages were exchanged on the occasion on behalf of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council of Science and Technology, and the Egyptian Academy chairman. The meeting was attended by Romanian ambassador to Egypt Ion Iosefide. "The two sides exchanged detailed information and experience on the two countries' scientific and technical research activities." [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Apr 81 p 6 AU]

MARGAN ACQUAINTS ASSEMBLY WITH KOSOVO FINDINGS

LD221404 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--In response to a request by delegates of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, and in accordance with the authority and responsibilities of the Federal Executive Council as set out in the Constitution, Dr Ivo Margan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, acquainted delegates with the activities and measures which are being taken in connection with the hostile actions in Pristina and some other places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Vice President Margan emphasized that as a result of wide-ranging activity by all the socialist forces in society, especially sociopolitical factors, and particularly those in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as well as the members of the Security Forces and the Yugoslav People's Army and citizens in the social self-protection service and all-people's defense organs, the state of public order and peace in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has been normal since 4 April this year. Dr Margan emphasized that internal hostile forces as well as fascist emigre groups and other hostile circles abroad were strengthening considerably their subversive activity in relation to our country. According to what has been discovered up to now, it is demonstrated that there was a clear community of interests between elements outside and the aims of the domestic counterrevolutionary organization in some places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Unfortunately, it was manifested in brutal action against the Yugoslav order. Experience of these events imperatively places before us the great obligation and responsibility of far greater organization, caution and consistency in applying the mechanisms of all-people's defense, social self-protection and forceful action to protect the gains of our revolution.

Dr Margan emphasized that together with other organized forces in society the organs of internal affairs were continuously taking energetic measures against all hostile elements in order to ensure the normalization of all trends in life, a peaceful and secure life for citizens, the process of production and especially the continued struggle to implement the economic stabilization policy. Intensive work is being carried out by the competent organs to uncover the organizers and initiators of the hostile activity.

The activity of all organized socialist forces in the country has been strengthened, especially that of the competent organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Federation, with a view to taking all the necessary measures to ensure continuity of production and supplies to organizations of associated labor of reproduction material, as well as supplies of food and other essential articles for the population of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Federal Executive Council will present more complete information to the SFRY Assembly when suitable analyses and assessments have been prepared in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the competent organs of the Federation.

KOSOVO SAWP'S ZVICER COMMENTS ON RECENT UNREST

LD222226 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--At the constituting session of the newly-elected Assembly of Yugoslav Radio and Telvision, which was held in Pristina today, delegates elected new executive organs and bodies of this institution. Milan Uselac, delegate of Sarajevo Radio and Television, was elected president of the Assembly with a 1-year term of office, and Nemanja Jovanovic of Novi Sad Radio and Television was elected vice president. An orientation plan of work of Yugoslav radio and television for the next year was accepted at the session.

Delegates from all the Yugoslav radio and television centers were greeted on behalf of the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations and organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo by Mihailo Zvicer, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium. He pointed out the great importance of radio and television centers in the efforts to bring the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia closer together and in promoting interrepublican and provincial cooperation. Zvicer laid stress on the need to keep working people and citizens fully informed and in good time. He said the appropriate lessons should be drawn in this connection from the recent events in Kosovo.

Mihailo Zvicer also spoke to assembly delegates about the counterrevolutionary character and aims of the hostile irredentist demonstrations in a number of places in Kosovo, and stressed that enemies of Socialist Yugoslavia from various sources, united under one slogan or similar slogans, had announced themselves through these demonstrations.

Speaking about the intensified sociopolitical activity now in progress in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with the aim of unmasking the enemy, Zvicer stressed that the nations and nationalities of Kosovo are today standing together, as they also would tomorrow, in the struggle against everything tainted by the old type of awareness and old symbols, the old aspirations along the line of counterrevolution and irredentism, and against any kind of nationalism.

KOSOVO EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS RESUME WORK

LD221536 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] According to the Rector's Office at the University of Kosovo in Pristina, all faculties and higher schools in the province today resumed regular work, which had been suspended owing to hostile demonstrations. Students' examinations, which started 2 days ago, continue to be held at the same time in accordance with a timetable prepared earlier.

CROATIA'S ECONOMY PLANS JOINT VENTURES IN KOSOVO

AU222030 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 81 p 4

[Summary] Zagreb, 10 Apr (TANJUG)--Croatia's economy has prepared 12 programs of cooperation with Kosovo's economy, some of which have already been accepted by both sides, while others will be discussed at the beginning of next month. What is involved is association of labor and pooling of resources on a joint basis in the industrial field, and cooperation in the agricultural and food complex and the raw material complex.

Thus, the Djuro Djakovic factory of Slavonski Brod drafted two programs to be implemented in Kosovo. The first of these two programs involves the construction of a factory for cooling towers, in which some 308 million dinars would be invested, while the other involves a factory to produce other products from the current program of the Djuro Djakovic factory's products.

The Podravka factory of Koprivnica has prepared a program for constructing a soap factory as part of the Farmakos plant of Prizren, while the Jugoturbina factory of Karlovac is working on a program to construct a plant in Kosovo. The Zagreb steam boiler factory is working on a plant to cooperate with the Metalac factory of Prizren on producing small boilers. The Nilola Tesla factory of Zagreb is working on a program to produce cell batteries. The Viadukt, Hromos and Ina enterprises of Zagreb and the Krateks collective of Krapina are also interested in joint ventures and in constructing plants in Kosovo.

In the 1981-85 period, Croatia plans to use 19 billion dinars, or some 4 billion dinars annually, for joint ventures on income relations in the underdeveloped regions of the country, some 43 percent, or 8.2 billion dinars, in Kosovo. This year, Croatia could use 1.74 billion dinars for this purpose in Kosovo.

COMMENTATOR URGES 'ALARM' AT PEOPLE LEAVING KOSOVO

LD222106 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Some 20 days after unbridled nationalist attacks on the foundations of Yugoslav revolutionary and constitutional unity, while the experience of this sad episode is being intensively studied in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and other parts of the country, it is possible to arrive at some important conclusions as regards the reaction of the working people and citizens to the aggressive appearance of Albanian irredentism, it is said in a Belgrade radio commentary written by its chief editor, Milutin Milenkovic. Emphasizing that the consciousness of our citizens of Serbian, Albanian and other nationalities has shown itself in an encouraging light, Milenkovic continues:

"Dignified and anxious, convinced that any attack on the integrity, constitutional order and sociopolitical system of the country will be resolutely and effectively dealt with, the population did not allow the sowers of disinformation or individual hostile groups and individuals to sow suspicion and hatred against the Yugoslav citizens of Albanian nationality."

The author of the commentary says that the confidence in the policy of the League of Communists and in the activity of the Socialist Alliance, constructive participation in numerous discussions at sociopolitical and self-managing meetings and open and democratic presentation of stances and proposals for speedy overcoming of the crisis situation in the part of the province represent a sign of the widest interest for the events and of the readiness to preserve the unity of the country. Recalling that ideopolitical unity is never definitively formed and that it is being constantly built upon and improved, just as complex life itself is full of objective contradictions, the commentator observers:

Precisely because the political settling of all the fundamental problems of our multinational community is so open and so backed by arguments, it seems to us that in the present stage of debates it is necessary to grasp most carefully and in a comprehensive way also the real meaning which we attach to the principle of brotherhood and unity of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Its fundamental value, destiny-shaping significance and also extreme sensitivity are not disputed by anyone in our public life. Nevertheless, we do not seem to be concerning ourselves enough with a phenomenon which must alarm us, which is that a number of citizens or families are leaving Kosovo. If we all feel that we are under an obligation to promote the unity of our community (?and) equality and reciprocity, then we must also be opposed to faintheartedness and lack of trust in the ability of the League of Communists to solve problems, strengthen the shaken confidence and consolidate brotherhood and unity--the basic achievement of our revolution and the cornerstone of our free future.

The Belgrade radio commentator says that the phenomenon of people leaving Kosovo, however rare it may be, should be the subject of serious sociopolitical discussions and conclusions. Otherwise such a case, passed over in silence and leaving us uninterested, offends the sacred fundamental principal of the socialist federal state and political unity of the country, the principle of brotherhood and unity, according to which every one of our citizens is inviolably equal and free to live and work unhindered and peacefully in any part of the country.

ROMANIAN PREMIER VERDET CONCLUDES VISIT, DEPARTS

More on Djuranovic Talks

LD221442 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--A considerable degree of agreement or of similarity of views between Romania and Yugoslavia on the most important international problems is the main characteristic of today's closing talks between Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet and Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

Emphasizing both sides' satisfaction with this, the two leaders underlined the usefulness of constant Yugoslav-Romanian contacts in cooperation in the international sphere and expressed their joint readiness for such cooperation and such contacts to continue in the future at various levels and on various issues. At the moment, such cooperation is most necessary for a successful end to the Madrid CSCE meeting in view of the fact that both countries cooperated previously, trying very actively to ensure that a joint agreement is reached at Madrid in which the continuity of the CSCE might be maintained and in which agreement might be reached on a conference on disarmament and on strengthening confidence-building and security measures in Europe.

As reported, both sides expressed their readiness to make new efforts in this direction, for they see the importance of these issues in the fact that detente--both European and global detente--is severely threatened.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, presented the Yugoslav assessment that precisely the current state of international relations confirms the thesis of the unsatisfactory nature of so-called "bipolar detente," and pointed to the need for universal detente, that is, a concept of the process of relaxation in which all countries in the world should take part. Yugoslavia also views detente in Europe from this angle.

Djuranovic and Verdet acquainted each other with Yugoslavia's and Romania's foreign political activity, as well as with relations between their countries and other countries.

Special attention was devoted in today's talks to the problems of the arms race, on which the standpoints of the two countries which advocate an end to the nuclear arms race in particular, are well known. In this connection the danger of the decision to locate medium-range missiles in central Europe was pointed to and all efforts at a dialogue between the superpowers on this and other questions connected with the process of relaxation and agreement-making were supported.

Within this context there was also discussion about the General Assembly special session on disarmament, which is to be held next year and for which both countries are already preparing. As agreed, they will also be in constant contact on this issue. Both sides' concern at the current international situation was also emphasized. The two countries' opposition to the use of force in solving matters of dispute were confirmed, as well as their opposition to interference in the internal affairs of others. The need to resolve disputes by peaceful means was also pointed out. The need for an all-encompassing solution to the Middle East crisis, which is not possible without the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the participation of all interested parties, was emphasized.

Premier Djuranovic set out Yugoslavia's assessments on the state and activities of the nonaligned movement, and Premier Verdet emphasized that Romania values highly the activity and role of this movement as a significant factor for the maintenance and consolidation of peace in the world.

It was also assessed that the serious crisis of international economic relations is becoming a problem which is already threatening the stability of overall relations in the world. In this connection, it was judged that the forthcoming mini-summit of developed and developing countries cannot be a substitute for global negotiations on these issues, but should contribute toward creating an atmosphere for the start of global negotiations in which all, especially the developing countries, must take part.

Individual crisis flashpoints were not discussed in particular, for they had recently been the subject of an exchange of views in Timisoara on the occasion of the Yugoslav-Romanian summit, and the standpoints of both countries on these issues are well known.

Premier Verdet invited the president of the Federal Executive Council to visit Romania, and the invitation was accepted with pleasure.

After the talks Ilie Verdet, Premier of the Socialist Republic of Romania, visited the Elekstronska Industrija in Zemun, where he toured factories and had talks with factory officials.

Meeting With Mijatovic

LD222048 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Ilie Verdet, chairman of the Council of Ministers [title as received] of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the Palace of the Federation today and had a long cordial and friendly conversation with him. On this occasion, Ilie Verdet conveyed greetings from President Nicolae Ceausescu to the SFRY Presidency and its president, to which Cvijetin Mijatovic warmly replied on behalf of the Presidency and his own behalf.

Satisfaction was expressed on both sides at the Yugoslav-Romanian agreements which envisage further intensification of bilateral cooperation, especially economic cooperation, on a long-term basis. It was stressed that constant efforts and involvement of both sides are called for to carry out the ambitious programs aimed at promoting cooperation and, within the same framework, industrial cooperation. This will impart a new meaning to the existing successful good-neighborly relations.

Within the framework of discussing the broader alarming phenomena in the world, particular attention was paid to relations in Europe in which the situation is becoming more complex. Cvijetin Mijatovic pointed out that alongside the divisions and rivalry there are also increasingly more pronounced and encouraging aspirations of the European people to act, by following their national interests and the broader interests of peace and security, in the spirit of the decisions taken in Helsinki. This makes it all the more necessary to strengthen the detente in Europe and further afield, to which the efforts of the Madrid meeting of the conference on European security and cooperation are devoted, and to strengthen the respect for the right of all countries to make their own decisions on their development peacefully and in security.

Recalling the recent message from President Nicolae Ceausescu, Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, also spoke about the need for concrete measures aimed at halting the dangerous arms race by supporting initiatives which served this purpose.

The conversation was attended by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Trifun Nikolic, SFRY ambassador in Bucharest; and others, and on the Romanian side by Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of foreign affairs; Nicolae Mihai, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Belgrade; and others.

After the conversation, Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a dinner which was attended by those who took part in the talks, as well as Jon Srbovan, president of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy; Ivan Stambolic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Metod Rotar, federal secretary for foreign trade; and other personalities, as well as members of the Romanian premier's entourage.

Joint Communique Issued

LD221808 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Joint communique on the 20-22 April visit to Yugoslavia of Romanian Premier Ilie Verdet]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Ilie Verdet, chairman of the Council of Ministers, [title as received] of the Socialist Republic of Romania, paid an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia from 20-22 April 1981 at the invitation of Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Premier Ilie Verdet was received by Cvjietin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency. Ilie Verdet also called on Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly. The Romanian premier visited the House of Flowers and paid homage to President Tito.

During his stay in Yugoslavia, the Romanian visited the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, where he held talks with the leaders of the republic and representatives of the work collective of the Zenica mining and metallurgical combine.

The president of the Federal Executive Council and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania briefed each other on the basic trends in the socio-economic development of their two countries, examined the development of Yugoslav-Romanian relations and cooperation and exchanged views on tropical questions of international relations.

The following took part in the talks: on the Yugoslav side, Metod Rotar, federal secretary for foreign trade; Sava Obraddvic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, Alija Basic, assistant federal secretary for foreign trade; Trifun Nikolic, SFRY ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Romania; and other personalities. On the Romanian side, Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of the chemical industry; Marin Capisizu, minister-secretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry; Constantin Oancea, deputy minister for foreign affairs; Nicolae Mihai, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the SFRY; and other personalities.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Ilie Verdet, chairman of the Council of Ministers, noted with satisfaction that relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Romania are developing successfully on the principles of independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference and mutual respect, and on the foundations established by President Josip Broz Tito and President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Underlining the importance of meetings held at the highest level, the two sides confirmed their readiness for and interest in the further promotion of relations between the two socialist countries, in keeping with the joint Yugoslav-Romanian statement on talks between Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania of 24 October 1980.

Special attention was paid to questions of economic relations between the two countries. With satisfaction, the two heads of government stressed the results achieved in the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation and in the fields of chemical and petrochemical industries and machine construction. Stress was given to the importance of the development of cooperation in this field of accords reached at the highest level—the recently signed agreement on the long-term program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and the agreements on the exchange of goods and services in the period from 1981-85 and during 1981 alone. The two sides reaffirmed their readiness to make a comprehensive effort to achieve harmonious and complete implementation of these agreements. They particularly stressed the need to make further efforts to promote production cooperation and joint investment, and to promote the appropriate forms of cooperation in the fields of machine construction, electronics and electricity technology, metallurgy, chemistry, energy, raw materials and transportation. Stress was also placed on the need for long-term cooperation in the field of agriculture. The two sides accepted an agreed memorandum on the further promotion of economic cooperation.

The two sides positively appraised the activity of the mixed committee for economic cooperation between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Romania and cooperation between individual departments and economic organizations of the two countries.

The two sides expressed readiness to continue to promote economic cooperation between border areas and friendly ties between the people of the neighboring areas within the framework of the overall system of good-neighborly relations between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

It was stressed that the successful development of cultural-educational and scientific-technical cooperation and of cooperation in the fields of health, information, tourism and sport is providing a sound foundation for the broadening and strengthening of cooperation in these fields.

During their exchange of views on international questions, the two heads of government stressed that the development of events had confirmed the appraisal made in the joint Yugoslav-Romanian statement of October 1980 and that these appraisals remain perfectly topical. Expressing the anxiety felt by the two governments in connection with the exacerbation of the international situation and the dangers threatening the freedom, independence, sovereignty and integrity of states, they underlined the need to step up the efforts by the international community to achieve the relaxation of international tension and a just and lasting settlement of all crisis flashpoints, international problems and disputes between states exclusively by peaceful means and through political negotiations, in keeping with the principles of the UN Charter, in conditions of complete respect for the independence and sovereignty of states, and of a people's full right to freedom, security and independent development.

The two sides examined with particular attention the course of the meeting of the European Security and Cooperation Conference in Madrid and the results so far achieved. They stressed the need for efforts to bring closer the views of the participating countries, so that during the remainder of the work, speedy progress could be made, with the preparation of a meaningful final document which would give a fresh impetus to the integral implementation of the Final Act. Yugoslavia and Romania consider that it is indispensable to reach accord on convening a conference on strengthening trust, security and disarmament in Europe, broadening relations and cooperation in all fields, ensuring the continuity of the process which started in Helsinki, and adopting, to this end, a decision on the place and date of the next meeting to be held within what has now become the customary period of time.

The two heads of government stressed the need for maximum efforts to halt the arms race and to start the process of real disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Supporting the consistent implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the first special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, the two sides stressed the importance of making thorough preparations for holding the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament.

The two sides agreed that it is necessary to make efforts, especially on the part of the developed countries, to promote international cooperation for the solution of the most important economic problems of the contemporary world and especially to support the activity of the developing countries to achieve faster economic development. They attach special importance to the earliest possible constructive agreement making possible the beginning of global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations on the key questions of international economic cooperation whole positive solutions would contribute to the creation of a new international economic order.

The two sides also emphasized the role and importance of the nonalignment policy as an independent nonbloc factor in international relations for the preservation of peace and stability in the world, for the democratization of international relations and for the solution of burning problems facing the world, with the participation of all countries on an equal basis.

The two heads of government also confirmed the full readiness of their countries to strive for further development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans. They emphasized that the development of equal cooperation between the Balkan countries in all fields and on questions of mutual interest, based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, contributes to strengthening good-neighborly relations and friendship in this area and to peace and security in Europe.

They confirmed the determination of Yugoslavia and Romania to continue and to strengthen cooperation on the international plane in order to eliminate from international relations the policy of force, all forms of pressure, intervention and interference in internal affairs; to improve the political atmosphere in the world; to resume the policy of peace and detente; to respect national independence, and to strengthen security and equal international cooperation and progress in the world.

The talks were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual understanding. The two sides assessed that this visit would contribute to the further successful development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Romania, which is in the interest of the peoples of both countries and at the same time considerably contributes to the struggle for peace and security, socialism and general progress in the world.

Ilie Verdet, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, to pay an official friendly visit to Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Ends Visit, Departs

LD221942 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Ilie Verdet, chairman of the Council of Ministers [title as received] of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left our country tonight. The Romanian prime minister and his entourage were seen off at Belgrade airport by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Ivan Stambolic, president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Metod Rotar, member of the Federal Executive Council; and other high-ranking Yugoslav officials.

MIJATOVIC REPORTS ON RECENT AFRICAN TOUR 22 APR

LD222200 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Cvijetin Mijatovic today informed the Presidency on his recent official visits to Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. He said that his talks with the highest leaders of these countries had dealt with current problems in international political and economic relations.

Particular attention was focused on the worrying situation in the south of Africa. The need of completing the process of decolonization with full respect for the independence and sovereign rights of all countries and peoples in the region was unanimously stressed, Mijatovic said.

Cvijetin Mijatovic also said that the need was pointed out for the nonaligned countries' broader engagement in preventing bloc rivalry and tendencies at expanding foreign influences to the detriment of the independence of smaller countries. The visits to these East Africa countries reaffirmed the high level of friendship, mutual understanding and identity of views between Yugoslavia and these nonaligned countries, it was noted at the session.

During his East Africa (?tour) Cvijetin Mijatovic also held talks with representatives of some people's liberation movements in the region.

ELECTRONIC INDUSTRY COOPERATION ACCORD WITH BULGARIA

AU221945 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Apr (BTA)--Today was the Day of Electronics at the Bulgarian Industry and Commerce Exhibition here. For the development of electronics spoke Mr Asen Stamenov, deputy minister of electronics and electrical engineering. One of the first contracts to be signed here was the one between the Bulgarian Electroimpex and Electronska Industria, Nis. The two enterprises will cooperate in the manufacture of acoustic equipment, with the amount of the deal coming up to 1.5 million dollars. There were contracts concluded also between the Bulgarian Prodexim and Interexport, Nis, for the exchange of consumer goods to the tune of 1.2 million dollars, between Agromachinaimpex and the Yugoslav Inex for the exchange of machines to the tune of 2.8 million dollars.

Today again the Bulgarian exhibition was visited by many Serbian officials and economists. The director of the republic's Committee for Cultural and Scientific and Technological Cooperation, Mr Slobodan Ristic, considers the exhibition exceptionally interesting. "It showed that along with the achievements in her traditional industries, Bulgaria has made extraordinary progress in mechanical engineering, electrical engineering and other modern industries."

Present at the exhibition were also the assistant presidents of Skupshtina of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Mr Svaloljub Raskovic and Mr Milos Milosavljevic. Mr Raskovic told the BTA correspondent: "I think the exhibition is very interesting. It will help for our better acquaintance, to which we hope our exhibition last October in Sofia, too, had contributed; after the exhibition comes the main thing--the implementation of the signed contracts, the expansion of trade, the joint manufactures in which our country is greatly interested.

"This exhibition, like the Serbian one in Sofia, came to show that the existing possibilities for boosting bilateral trade go beyond the established limits of trade at present. It is evident that our economy and the economy of Bulgaria are supplementing each other in many respects. It is evident that great opportunities lie ahead for mutual cooperation in metallurgy, the auto industry and electronics."

PCE'S CARRILLO INTERVIEWED DURING RECENT VISIT

AU230725 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1580 12 Apr 81 pp 41-43

[Mirko Klarin report on interview with Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], granted to NIN "during his 'working visit' to Belgrade last Saturday"]

[Excerpts] "Because of the intensifying economic and social crisis in many countries," Carrillo says, "a return to bloc policy and cold war, a deepening of contradictions and conflicts in some areas of the world, we are in an extremely complex international situation that calls for vigilance and great effort to preserve peace and to renew the process of detente. After the break in the unity of the French left and its electoral defeat, the influence and strength of the rightwing forces have increased in many countries, which represents a negative element in the current situation. On the other hand, the Soviet policy in Afghanistan, Poland and elsewhere does not help Europe's democratic forces. On the contrary."

More Necessary Than Ever Before

"However, precisely in this situation Eurocommunism is more necessary than ever before. For Eurocommunism also contains the concept of the unity of the workers forces, the forces of the left and progress in Europe, the aim of which is to defend peace and to continue along the road of progress. It is only thus, with this unity, that Europe will be able to play its independent role toward which it strives."

[Question] Along with the crisis in international relations, however, there is also talk about a crisis of Eurocommunism.

[Answer] "I believe that it is not accidental that these two crises are simultaneously discussed. For Eurocommunism represents a road of social transformation; it is independent of blocs, it is not satisfied with the existing ideals and models. Eurocommunism also represents a struggle for peace in the capitalist world, independently of the one, as well as the other bloc. I would say that this line is objectively very similar to the one pursued by the nonaligned countries.

"Under these conditions, in the same way that peace and coexistence are in a certain crisis, Eurocommunism is also in a crisis. This, however, does not mean that Eurocommunism is dying and that it will be buried soon. On the contrary, I believe that Eurocommunism will come out of the crisis greatly strengthened, as the only road which the workers class in Europe has at its disposal to defend peace and to continue toward a socialist and democratic transformation of the society."

[Question] What has now been left of the 'common aims of interests' that are mentioned in the declaration of the first and last 'Eurocommunist summit meeting' in Madrid 4 years ago?

[Answer] "As far as the Spanish Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party are concerned, the Madrid declaration continues to be fully in effect."

[Question] Eurocommunism is again exposed to fierce criticism and attacks from outside?

[Answer] "Every time the international situation becomes strained, every time bloc policy becomes stronger, aspirations appear to line up the communist parties and resistance increases to all manifestations of independence of certain parties."

[Question] In this connection, how does the Spanish Communist Party view the process of a social and political renewal in Poland?

[Answer] "We are following with great sympathy and understanding the process of renewal which the workers and peasant mass movement launched in Poland. We see what has been happening in Poland since last August as confirmation of our Eurocommunist orientations."

[Question] Would a possible failure of the Polish process of renewal, the halting of that process, jeopardize the chances of Eurocommunism?

[Answer] "It would be a disaster. A disaster not only for Eurocommunism but also for communism in general, for socialism, for all leftwing, progressive forces in Europe."

[Question] There also are views about a certain 'crisis of methods' of the Eurocommunist parties. It is claimed that the party has not been sufficiently democratized and opened up internally to the same extent that it has opened up toward society.

[Answer] "I know of that kind of criticism. The criticism usually comes from the rightwing of Eurocommunism...."

[Question] A rightwing within Eurocommunism?

[Answer] "From the rightwing in Eurocommunism and outside it. I believe that the basis of that criticism is a concept that is more anarchist than democratic. According to that concept, the Communist Party, for all practical purposes, is unnecessary to transform the present society in a democratic manner. However, I believe that the Communist Party is necessary, just as the socialist and other progressive parties are necessary for a Eurocommunist perspective, just as the trade unions are also necessary."

[Question] The recent deletion of the term Eurocommunism from the program of the Catalonian party is frequently interpreted as "a defeat of Santiago Carrillo's line." Views also exist that one of the problems of Spanish Eurocommunism lies precisely in the fact that the party strategy is excessively identified with the general secretary's personality.

[Answer] "Evidently my personality has a certain connection to what is called Eurocommunist strategy. I would say that it is not so, not only in my country but, in a way, in all Europe. But what should I do to separate these two things?

"I do not think that those who claim that the party grassroots have not completely understood and accepted our strategy are quite right. For instance, some 20 days ago I was at a meeting in Barcelona. There, in front of tens of thousands of Catalonian communists I defended the Eurocommuist strategy from attacks by sectarians and dogmatists, who arrived organized and who tried to break up the meeting. The vast majority of those present, ordinary party members, supported my premises and turned down and rejected the slogans advocated by the sectarian and dogmatist groups."

[Question] Do you think that the recently attempted coup d'etat has made the importance of Eurocommunism even more topical?

[Answer] "Obviously. Moreover, I believe that the coup demonstrated to many party members--those who had their suspicions, who believed that our Eurocommunist policy was too moderate--that we, nonetheless, were right. The unity of the leadership and the grassroots over this policy is now greater than it was before the coup."

FEDERAL CHAMBER SESSION PROCEEDINGS REPORTED

LD222306 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, under the chairmanship of Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, today adopted by emergency procedure the changes to the law on economic recovery, the law on the Edvard Kardelj Prize and several other draft laws and reports.

At the beginning of the session, the delegates heard the Federal Executive Council report on the events in Kosovo. The delegates were informed about this by Ivo Margan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council.

This Edvard Kardelj Prize will be awarded for the highest achievements which contribute to the development of the theory and practice of socialist self-management. The prize will be awarded to individuals or groups every 4 years. The law on the Edvard Kardelj Prize emphasizes that this prize represents social recognition to mark in a permanent way the rich creative work by Edvard Kardelj, revolutionary and Marxist theoretician, and his exceptional contribution to the development of the theory and practice of socialist self-management.

The Edvard Kardelj Prize will be awarded on 27 January, the birthday of the great revolutionary. The prize will be awarded for the first time next year.

The Federal Chamber adopted, by emergency procedure, the law of changes to the law on economic recovery and liquidation of organizations of associated labor. The new law is based on the principle of determining the amount of personal incomes paid to workers on account in the basic organizations of associated labor which operate at a loss, and the amount which is necessary to preserve a worker's standard of living. The proposed changes to the present law enable these organizations to pay, on account, higher personal incomes than the average income and in a selective manner, depending on the reasons for the loss. The decision on this will be made by competent organs of the republics and provinces.

Speaking about this legal text, Peter Kostic, federal secretary for finance, emphasized that the application of existing solutions as regards the payment of personal incomes on account in the basic organizations of associated labor which operate at a loss, would, in the present situation of high prices, erode the standard of living of a large number of workers. The Federal Executive Council therefore accepted the proposal of the Presidium of the Council of Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia to change the existing law on economic recovery.

These measures, Kostic said, will be temporary, because during 1981 the republics and provinces will, by their own laws, also determine the payment of personal incomes on account in the organizations of associated labor which operate at a loss.

The session then held an extensive debate on further development of local communities. The debate was connected with the report on the implementation of the resolution of the SFRY Assembly on further development of local communities.

At the proposal of Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations was asked to prepare draft conclusions on this subject for the next session as the debate was--it was said--very meaningful and contained useful proposals and suggestions.

Continuing the session, the Chamber adopted conclusions on the self-managing workers' control, the result of earlier discussions in the Assembly committees and of the discussion at the previous session of the Chamber.

The conclusions emphasize that the importance of the self-managing workers' control is increasing and that various aspects of its activity are becoming ever more necessary in order to prevent and eliminate violations of the workers' self-management rights, social property and self-management. The conclusions emphasize the importance of its further affirmation and the need to include in it the most outstanding workers, who will be comprehensively trained for the performance of this important function. They stated that complete information for workers about all matters and decisions of the self-management organs, as envisaged by the law on associated labor, represents an important condition of work of the self-managing workers' control.

The work of the self-managing workers' control must be open, and accessible to all workers so that they can have an insight into the overall work and operation of their organization. The Chamber's conclusions are that constant mutual cooperation, information and agreement-making must be implemented and developed between all organs in the basic organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities and between the control organs and corresponding organs and organizations in the sociopolitical communities which deal with the protection of social property and self-management.

The sociopolitical organizations, especially the trade unions, must, by their activity, ensure conditions for constant and ever more meaningful and comprehensive functioning of the self-managing workers' control, the conclusions--adopted today by the Federal Chamber--state in conclusion.

The delegates ratified the agreement on mutual recognition of school certificates and diplomas in the SFRY and the People's Republic of Hungary and adopted reports by the Committee for All-People's Defense and the Legal Commission on the constitutionality of the law on children's allowances and other forms of children's protection for children of insured military personnel. The Chamber also adopted the proposal of the Justice Committee of the Federal Chamber to change and supplement the law on executive proceedings.

At the end of the session, the Chamber elected Marko Bulc, delegate from Slovenia, as chairman of the Committee for the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia Prize, and Mihajlo Zvicer, president of the Presidium of the SAWP Provincial Conference of Kosovo, as chairman of the Board of the Mosa Pijade Fund for the Promotion of Fine Arts.

POZDERAC CRITICIZES 'PASSIVE' PARTY MEMBERS

LD231018 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0903 GMT 23 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Apr (TANJUG)--The leading ideological-political role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in the Yugoslav socialist self-management society is not secured in advance. Such a role of the party must be constantly won and patiently re-affirmed through the consistent struggle of its members in the milieus in which they live and work.

This was said today by LCY Central Committee Presidency member Hamdija Pozderac who pointed to the need for party members in the economy and socio-political communities to more resolutely fight everyday problems. He recalled President Tito's words that the League of Communists members must "encourage creative forces and strengthen the self-management consciousness of millions of working people in the conditions of self-management delegational system."

Hamdija Pozderac submitted the introductory report on the implementation of the role and tasks of the basic organization of the League of Communists in the further development of self-management socio-economic relations and the delegational system, which is the main item on the agenda of today's session of the LCY Central Committee. The session will also consider the activity to date in preparations for the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to be held in mid next year. At the same time, the session is expected to adopt an outline of the programme of Central Committee's activity until the next congress.

It was stated in the report that over the period since the previous, 11th congress (in 1978), the LCY admitted into its membership 450,000 new members. This confirms that the confidence of the young people in the party is continually strengthening and binds the LCY to engage in an even firmer struggle against everything hindering an accelerated development of socialist self-management democarcy.

In this context, Pozderac warned against still present occurrences of distinct centralist decision-making in relation to income and the use of surplus products in economy. He stressed that it is inadmissible that hardly one third of the realized income "should be handled by associated labour, and the other two thirds by other structures. The substance of our ideological and political struggle in the forthcoming period is to secure that income is managed by those who actually realize it and to open more fully the process of income interrelatedness."

Pozderac criticized members of those basic party organizations who are passive in carrying out their self-management functions and who avoid a democratic critical dialogue. He stressed that "only through their principled stands" and "by respecting other opinions and suggestions" LCY members can, by way of argument, "and not from the positions of the party in power, and on equal footing with other citizens, seek the best solutions to specific problems. In this it should be taken into account that where there is no firm link between the LCY and citizens, room is created for the action of forces which oppose the party and the development of socialist self-management.

"A steadfast development of direct socialist self-management democracy has been and continues to be our lasting commitment and the basic factor of political stability," Pozderac underlined. In ending, Pozderac stressed that members of Leagues of Communists, particularly in economy and in local communities and municipalities, must continually develop self-management.

DEFENSE SECRETARY TOURS COLLECTIVE IN KRAGUJEVAC

LD221506 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Kragujevac, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, visited the Crvena Zastava factory in Kragujevac today. Together with Col Gen Petar Gracanin and Lt Col Gen Boro Milenkovic, General Ljubicic toured the production halls of the largest Kragujevac collective and had talks with factory representatives on production results and development plans up to 1985.

On this occasion, Dr Milenko Bojanic, chairman of the factory's management committee, presented Nikola Ljubicic with a 2 February plaque, the highest tribute that this collective can bestow. The Crvena Zastava workers gave this to him in recognition of his contribution to the development of their factory.

Representatives of the Sumadija and Morava Region and of Kragujevac Municipality also spoke with the federal secretary for national defense.

SERBIAN SAWP ASSESSES CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

LD222222 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Some 2 million working people and citizens participated in the wide democratic discussion on the constitutional amendments in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Proposed solutions were accepted and full readiness was expressed to apply them in a creative and consistent manner. This was emphasized at today's session of the republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia which assessed the activity and results of the public debate on the draft amendments to the constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. In view of the results of the public debate and the discussion at today's session of the republican conference, the delegates expressed full support to the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Zika Radojlovic, president of the republican conference of the SAWP of Serbia, emphasized in his report that the results of public discussions are the best confirmation that the amendments represent an expression of the self-managing development of society which is in itself an essential guarantee of further strengthening of the socioeconomic and political stability of the country. Every new step in democratization today also means the deepening of equality of brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and nationalities. At the same time, this is also strengthening the position and role of the nonaligned Yugoslavia in the world.

However, Radojlovic pointed out, this does not mean that we can nourish illusions that the enemies will leave us alone, especially in the conditions of pronounced economic difficulties and the tense international situation in the world. The protagonists of such phenomena are perfidiously adapting their methods and exploiting our difficulties and, in some cases, also the absence of vigilance. The recent events in Kosovo have shown the extent of vandalism, brutality and hypocrisy employed by nationalist and counterrevolutionary forces. All our peoples and nationalities, working people and citizens, have denounced these enemy attacks at numerous meetings and expressed the determination to struggle against the Albanian and any other nationalism and chauvinism. Serious lessons have to be learned from the Kosovo events. One is undoubtedly the fact that we must tirelessly continue to strengthen the brotherhood and unity and nip in the bud any phenomenon of nationalism. We must not allow the recent attack by Albanian nationalism and irredentism to provoke any other nationalism. The enormous majority of the Albanian population in Kosovo have nothing to do with the enemy activity. The working people and citizens denounce nationalism and counterrevolution, thus confirming their commitment to socialism and self-management, to equality and togetherness with other peoples and nationalities, to independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia.

Today's session of the SAWP republican conference also adopted the report on the action "Nothing Must Surprise Us" which was explained by Veroljub Brankovic, chairman of the SAWP republican conference Coordination Committee for All-People's Defense and Self-Protection. Over 2 million individuals, 80 percent of organizations of associated labor, almost all local communities and staffs and units of the Armed Forces and civil protection took part in this action in the area of Serbia proper [excluding the provinces]. In the course of last year alone, some 10,000 smaller or greater activities connected with protective-defensive training and exercises were held.

It is interesting that at today's session of the conference the question of the name of this action was raised--because it is perhaps a bit too pretentious--and proposed that it should be called "we work so that nothing can surprise us." The delegates also queried why the republican conference of the SAWP of Serbia was not informed about the course of this action throughout the republic, that is, including the provinces.

MONTENEGRO SAWP ATTACKS BELGRADE PRESS REPORTS

LD221954 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] Titograd, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--The section for information of the republican conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Montenegro today discussed, among other things, the reports in a number of Belgrade illustrated papers on certain events and developments in Montenegro.

In a statement on the session, it is noted that a number of supplements published recently in these papers have given currency to certain concepts and ideas which are not in keeping with the policy of the League of Communists on the nationalities question and the affirmation of national cultures. The statement adds that certain actions and achievements in the field of cultural life and creative work in Montenegro are being belittled, that the situation, relations, effort and results in individual municipalities and institutions of special social importance for the republic are being presented in a distorted light, that individual leading people in them are being discredited and so forth.

The statement also says that these tendentious and damaging articles tend to appear with increased frequency during certain periods and that it is difficult to dispel the impression that this is a case of definitely premeditated ill intentions and paternalistic attitudes.

The section for information also stressed that the authors of these articles did not consider themselves bound to listen to the "other side" as well, in other words to present to the public the views, appraisals and opinions of the working and living environments about which they keep others "informed". Within the framework of the generally accepted relations in our society it is unacceptable that no significance should be attached to and no attention paid to the views of the self-managing structures of any environment and that reporting should be based on casual information gained from private and other sources.

Finally the statement says:

At the meeting of the section, this kind of reporting was appraised as tendentious and politically harmful because it has an unfavorable effect on public opinion and diverts the attention of working people from the fundamental issues and tasks which they are tackling at the moment. The method and style of this reporting are not in keeping with our policy of developing the self-managing system of information and with the aspirations and efforts in the field of keeping working people and citizens objectively, critically and comprehensively informed.

VOJVODINA AMENDS INVESTMENT PLAN IN OTHER REGIONS

AU221921 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 81

[Text] The Vojvodina Executive Council has adopted an amendment to the new draft medium-term plan of the province. The amendment envisages that in the next 5 years, the Vojvodina organizations of associated labor should invest nearly 20 billion dinars by means of self-managing pooling of resources in other areas of our country. Over 7.5 billion dinars will be invested in the underdeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo instead of contributing to the fund [for the more rapid development of the underdeveloped republics and provinces].

COMMENTATOR REVIEWS KOLISEVSKI BOOK ON MACEDONIA

LD151408 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 15 Apr 81

["TANJUG Feature by Radio," by Zoran Dogramaziev]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Apr (TANJUG)--"It is a fact that we exist, that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation are being constantly developed and reaffirmed and that the feeling every Macedonian has of being a part of his nation is becoming increasingly stronger, regardless of where he lives. This is a process which nothing can halt", writes member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Lazar Kolisevski in a revised edition of his book "Aspects of the Macedonian Question".

The book, published by the"Socijalisticka Misao I Praksa (Socialist Thought and Practice) publishing house of Belgrade, comprises a selection of Kolisevski's speeches, interviews and studies dealing with the Macedonian national question over the last thirty years.

Kolisevski, an active participant in the World-War-Two events which, after several centuries, led to the establishment of a Macedonian state in the framework of Yugoslavia, in his works often had to defend the legitimate rights of the Macedonian people to freedom and development. A prominent Macedonian and Yugoslav revolutionary and functionary, he was, in 1941, secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party's Provincial Committee for Macedonia and, in the period from 1943 to 1963, secretary of the Macedonian Communist Party Central Committee.

He was also the first premier of the People's Republic of Macedonia formed in 1945, immediately after the war. Kolisevski also held prominent posts in the Yugoslav Federation, and after the death of President Tito, was for a time president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

As a witness of the historic developments in the Balkans over the past fifty years, as a participant and one of the leaders of the Macedonian people's struggle for freedom, Kolisevski was always deeply interested in the Macedonian national question. His books and other works deal especially with the attempts to deny the Macedonian national idenitity and expose the real nature of the motives underlying such attempts. For this reason, "Aspects of the Macedonian Question" frequently polemizes with neighbouring Bulgaria, a country in which the existence of the Macedonian nation is negated and it history usurped, and which glorifies the San Stefano treaty of March 3, 1878 when, drawn together by their identical interests, the Russian and Bulgarian bourgeoisie tried to establish a Greater Bulgaria into which parts of Serbia and Albania and the whole of Macedonia were to be incorporated.

In his book Kolisevski deals in detail with the Macedonian people's efforts to fulfill its age-long aspirations. These aspirations, Kolisevski stresses, became finally fulfilled through the joint struggle and revolution with other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in the Second World War. "The history of the national liberation of the Macedonian people is the brightest page in the entire history of the Macedonian people. It once and for ever blazed the path for the happy future of the Macedonian people in Vardar Macedonia question in all of the Balkans--Pirin and Aegean Macedonia--in the spirit of the right of nations to free life and equality, in the spirit of the age-long aspirations of our nation as a whole", writes Kolisevski. [sentence as received]

Kolisevski often emphasizes the role which the national minorities whose full national rights have been recognized and which enjoy these rights can [word indistinct] the rapprochement and cooperation between neighbouring countries. He also points out to which extent the negation of these rights, let alone undue claims upon a nation--in this case the Macedonian--can check or freeze such processes. "History has made it clear who on the Balkans had always sought hegemony and what the goals of the hegemonistic policy were. But history also made it clear who overwhelmed this hegemony. Not much effort is needed to see what the policy of subjugation on the Balkans aimed at and what it eventually led to", writes Kolisevski.

"The abandoning of such policy is the first step towards peace and cooperation among Balkan peoples, to which an important contribution would be made by the recognition of national rights to the Macedonian national minority in neighbouring countries", Kolisevski emphasizes.

The book "Aspects of the Macedonian Question" no doubt contributes to a better understanding of the historical background of events in the Balkans and to the understanding of some current political events.